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THE NATION

December 6, 1965 . . 35c

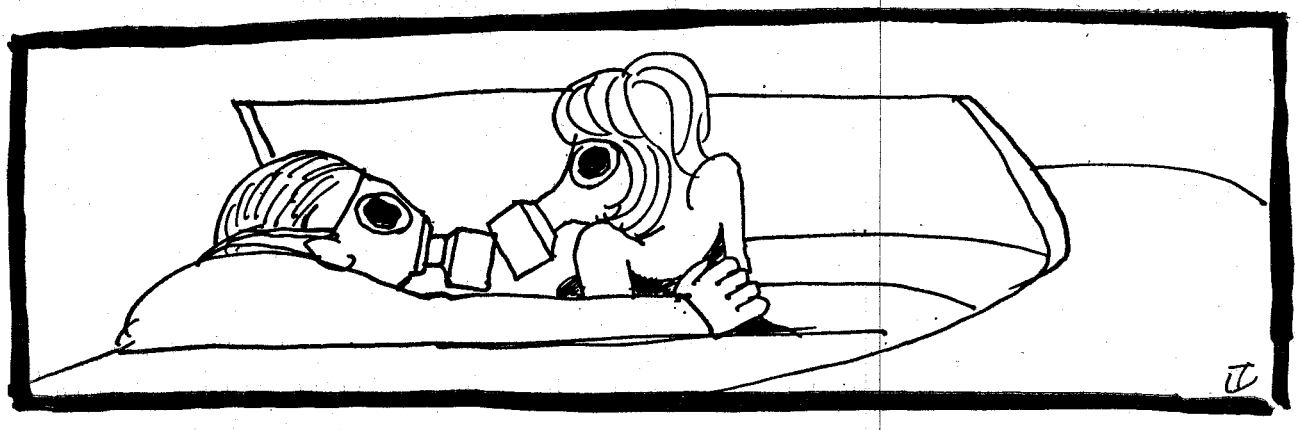
IS THE AUTO INCURABLE?

Smog Today & Smog Tomorrow

Morris Neiburger

Life in the Parking Lot

Richard G. Lillard



The New Russian Revolution

Margaret Miller

PERRY MILLER'S AMERICA

Alan Trachtenberg

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LETTERS

Con Ed's string of lights

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs: Thank you for the splendid, well-researched article ["Con Edison: The Hudson River Caper," by David Cort, *The Nation*, Nov. 22] on the battle to save Storm King Mountain at Cornwall-on-Hudson from the controversial pumped-storage electric power plant proposed by Con Edison of New York. The great Northeastern blackout which paralyzed New York just before your article appeared furnished an ironic footnote to this battle.

Immediately after service had been restored to the city, Con Edison's public relations people went to work trying to convince New Yorkers that the Cornwall plant would have prevented the disastrous power failure and helped to restore service faster. Although the company was careful not to make a direct claim, the inference dominated a number of expensive full-page ads placed in newspapers throughout the company's service area and was sold again and again in public statements and on radio.

Considering that New Yorkers will be paying for the cost of this propaganda campaign in their monthly power bills, they ought to have some idea of the accuracy of what they are being sold. . . .

At the moment of the blackout, which occurred very near the peak of highest demand, New York City was using 4.3 million kilowatts of power, according to available reports. If all of Con Edison's power plants had been in operation, the city would have had a capacity of 7.6 million kilowatts, leaving a margin of safety of 3.3 million kilowatts. As it was, three of the company's plants were down for various reasons and the capacity was 6.1 million kilowatts, leaving a margin of safety of 1.8 million kilowatts. There is no question that 1.8 million kilowatts was more than adequate to handle any foreseeable demand of the city for power.

If Con Edison had pulled the switch and disconnected itself from the failing power grid, there would have been no blackout in New York City.

Now what would have happened if the Cornwall plant had been available? First, the failure in the grid was great enough to eat up the city's 1.8 million kilowatt surplus as though it wasn't there at all. I have not yet seen figures on the total demand, but it is clear from the extent and effect of the failure that it would also have exceeded Cornwall's 2 million kilowatt capacity, assuming that the full capacity was available. Thus, under the most favorable circumstances, the Con Edison system would have been thrown out even with Cornwall, unless the company disconnected from the failing Northeast power grid.

The key to maintaining New York's power was cutting free of the grid and Con Edison had more than enough power to do that and maintain service without Cornwall power. . . .

The antiquated Con Edison system appears to be the real reason that the company took so long getting power back to its captive customers in New York. The Con Edison distribution system has been likened to the old-fashioned string of Christmas tree lights, all connected in series. When one light blows, the whole string goes, and the only way to get it back in service is to check each light. Public Service of New Jersey was offering Con Edison lots of power from its modern jet turbines right after the failure, but Con Edison couldn't accept it until they had gone through their whole system and gotten the plants ready to take it. There were literally thousands of break points that had to be manually operated, using every available man. In short, there was an abundance of power available to help stricken New York, but Con Edison couldn't use it. . . .

Richard L. Ottinger
Member of Congress
25th District, New York

World imperative

Belmont, Mass.

Dear Sirs: Your readers in New England should be interested in a conference being sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee on "Social Revolution — World Imperative," Dec. 10 and 11 in Cambridge. Among the impressive list of discussion leaders are Eqbal Ahmad, author of "How To Tell When the Rebels Have Won" [*The Nation*, Aug. 30], Conor Cruise O'Brien, William Worthy, Howard Zinn and John Gerassi, Latin American expert. . . . Details can be had from AFSC, 44a Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. *Martin R. Haase*

No end to the draft?

Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y.

Dear Sirs: I question two theories proposed by Ross Wilhelm in "How To End the Draft" [*The Nation*, Nov. 15]. Wilhelm suggests that reluctance to face "embarrassing Congressional questions about the undeclared war in Vietnam" is one of the reasons for Administrative failure to discuss a military pay increase that would abolish the need for our forced recruitment system. Why would a discussion about military budget lead to questions not al-

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Candor, Credibility, Confidence

Open covenants, openly arrived at, were never anything more than a figment of Woodrow Wilson's imagination; moreover, while a war is being fought, diplomatic moves are apt to be even more tortuous than the deals that are worked out afterward. Each side is intent on winning at the conference table the total victory which eluded it on the battlefield — or, if defeat is its portion, on obtaining terms which will enable it to fare better in the wars to come.

Accordingly, the normal behavior of governments requires pulling the wool over the eyes of its own loyal citizens (including those who are fighting and dying) as well as those of allies and neutrals. The extent to which the Johnson Administration has succeeded in this endeavor is perhaps unequaled in history. Under President Kennedy there were complaints of management of the news but, as we can see now, this was all on a relatively ineffectual scale. The techniques of feeding misinformation to the loyal American have been greatly refined since that time, and if he takes at face value anything that he reads (with a few exceptions) in the commercial press, or sees and hears on his electronic equipment, he must be willfully gullible.

The revelations of the past few weeks have horrified even some of the most experienced manipulators of public opinion. "I feel as if I have been cuckolded," one newspaper editor exclaimed. Sen. Richard Russell, long a confidant of the President, reflected on the communications between U Thant and Adlai Stevenson and on the Hanoi offer in the early fall of 1964 to discuss a possible settlement, and concluded that "a grievous error was committed." Such expressions of resentment have been coming from every side; even the war hawks, who now call for the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, feel that the total lack of candor in the Administration's pronouncements is self-defeating. Official lying works for a time, but when the curtain of secrecy is momentarily pulled aside the revelations are all the more damaging.

The details that have leaked out — about the suppression of the fact that overtures for possible negotiations were made more than a year ago, about the American role in the Dominican Republic, about U. S. nuclear-tipped weapons in the possession of the West Germans—lead to the question: can this Administration ever be believed again? The doubts are redoubled by the stupid and transparent falsehoods with which its spokesmen try to cover up past machinations while present ones, we may be sure, continue to be perpetrated. We are told, in one instance, that Dean Rusk failed to pass information on to the President. And on what grounds? Rusk's "antennae" told him that Hanoi was not "sincere," and we had to get into a full-scale war before Hanoi's sincerity could be attested. Americans and Vietnamese must die in increasing numbers until Rusk, waving his sensitive antennae toward the Asian mainland, decides that an authentic message of submission is finally being transmitted by the crafty enemy.

The damage has been compounded by the treatment meted out to U Thant, on whom to a large degree rest the chances of peace. In the 1964 Vietnam situation, U Thant was placed in an affair so frustrating that he was forced to signal to the American public that if they only knew the facts they would agree that further bloodshed might be avoided. His reward was to be slapped down by the Administration and by the President himself, as if he were an intruder pushing himself into a situation that did not concern him.

In Mr. Johnson we have a President who plays the cards close to his chest, who wants to run everything and to keep all power in his own hands, who loves secrecy and intrigue for its own sake. In the light of the disclosures which have now reached the American public, the President's oft-repeated assertion that his only wish is to bring the Vietcong and North Vietnam to the conference table requires a closer and more skeptical look.

Less and Less Unconditional

Newsweek (November 29) writes that though the United States is still ready to begin "unconditional discussions" at any time, "the discussions are now less unconditional than they have ever been—and it will take a loud, clear signal from Hanoi to get them started." The offer to discuss, then, is not unconditional at all; in *The Nation's* view, it never was. *The Nation's* skepticism was based on the use of the word "discussions" and the careful avoidance of "negotiations"; moreover, by the time of the President's Johns Hopkins speech a strong drumbeat of criticism had to be countered, and a big arms build-up was under way. It seemed fairly obvious that while the Administration might talk peace for domestic consumption, the arms build-up and intensification of the war were its real objectives. The rest was camouflage.

This pattern goes far beyond "negotiation from strength." Our strength is shown by the ratio of Vietcong and North Vietnamese casualties to our own. Unless our opponents obtain matching air power, that ratio will be maintained—or increased. The key figures in the Johnson Administration are banking on massive casualties to bring the North Vietnamese to terms. Rusk is reported to have stressed to a foreign visitor that he was ready to fly to Geneva any time, but he also told the visitor: "We'll lick 'em." In other words, he is ready to go to Geneva to dictate terms of surrender.

He may be disappointed. Any nation—be it European, Asian, or American — pursues victory as long

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as a few pints of blood remain unshed, and North Vietnam is still far from being bled white. If victory is beyond its grasp, its fighting men will be thrown into the breach to avert negotiation from weakness, which comes close to being no negotiation at all. We knocked down last year's peace feelers because our military position at the time was unsatisfactory and because we feared the effect discussions might have on the government in Saigon. (When Stevenson mentioned this difficulty to U Thant, the latter is said to have replied: "What government?") It is now Hanoi's turn to reason in this fashion, and to counter our passion for "victory" with its own. Everything points, then, to a continuation of the war, to rising casualties and, if matters slip out of control, to a widening and ever more dangerous conflict.

This sequence of events gives the war hawks on our side the leverage they need. In military matters, a kernel of logic always exists within the encompassing illogic, as when General LeMay argues that it is senseless to use B-52s as tactical aircraft. If we are going to use them, why not bomb refineries, tank farms, industries, etc.? Why not — although LeMay has not suggested it so far—bomb population centers, as he bombed Tokyo in World War II? Senator Russell and Representative Rivers, and Richard Nixon, are ready to take the former step right now, and if that fails to work, by all indications they will be prepared to go on to the latter. Moderation has no place in the logic of war.

All this, as *The Nation* has pointed out time and again, is part of the preventive war against China which is the ulterior reason for our war in Vietnam. The Chinese cannot be under any illusions on that score. What if they have taken the possible elimination of North Vietnam into account? If the Soviets did not intervene, the Chinese would have an unchallenged claim to leadership of the Communist world. They could then retaliate with means of their own choosing, presumably occupation of North Vietnam and operations against South Vietnam from bases in the north. This involves risks for them, but they may be willing to take a chance on having their atom factories bombed if they can engulf us in a protracted land war. They bided their time in Korea; they may be biding their time again. Are we being sucked into the vortex we swore to avoid?

Kennedy's Course

In his present political maneuvers Robert F. Kennedy somewhat resembles the Tower of Pisa, which leans, but not enough to fall over. The soothsayers in Washington see Kennedy veering cautiously to left of center, perhaps less from personal preference than as the only means available to distinguish himself from President Johnson and his entourage. Before leaving for South America he took a stance on American policy in Asia which placed him apart from the war hawks, and now he is differentiating himself from Johnson, Jack Hood Vaughn and Tom Mann in Latin American affairs. The opportunity is enhanced by his juxtaposition to Secretary Rusk, who, colorless as ever, has been operating in the same area.

Before leaving on his tour, Kennedy was briefed at the State Department. State would rather he had stayed home, but since he was bent on going Vaughn was designated to tell him what to say. Bobby did not take kindly to this tutelage. When he was asked to explain U. S. intervention in the Dominican Republic to the Latin Americans, he bluntly declined.

At Rio, Rusk announced that we would intervene unilaterally to put down subversion in Latin America, although of course we would prefer to do so at the side of our OAS allies. This, coming in the wake of the offensive House resolution promulgating a unilateral right of intervention, could hardly have been more irritating, even to those countries which automatically go along with us. Kennedy backed up the Johnson Administration only mildly, saying about as little as he decently could. Wherever possible, he spoke to students and offered to discuss issues even with those most hostile to him. He presented the image of a young man who had little use for armed guards and military men, and had no other wish than to meet Latin Americans man to man. In short, he represented the Good Neighbor Policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, while Rusk was, in effect, the proponent of what the Latin Americans would regard as the new Bad Neighbor Policy.

All this has far-reaching political implications at home. Unable to get help from the President, Mr. Kennedy is establishing himself as an independent political figure. It can hardly be doubted that he has his eye on the Presidency. It is a long way off, but it is not to be precluded that he may make it.

No Holocaust for V.I.P.s

A few years ago, a priest gave it as his expert opinion that a good Christian would be justified in shooting a neighbor who tried to share his fallout shelter, such neighbor having lacked the foresight — or the wherewithal — to provide a sanctuary of his own. The resulting burst of bad publicity, with nightmares of weeping children vainly knocking on bolted shelter doors, no doubt had something to do with the collapse of the boom in private shelter building — although no small number of well-heeled and forehanded householders have quietly looked out for themselves and their loved ones in this respect. However, chosen executives of great corporations and their favorite subordinates are spared the shelter problem. For them, expense-account living will continue without interruption, even while 80 million expendable Americans perish.

These pleasant arrangements are described by Douglas Sefton in the New York *Daily News* (November 4). In 1951, the Iron Mountain Atomic Storage Corp. began to convert an abandoned mine near Hudson, N.Y., into survival storage space for companies and institutions — presumably from the New York

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metropolitan area, although this cannot be verified, since the names of tenants are kept in confidence. The idea was then extended from records to people, and Iron Mountain has become a "20th-century Noah's Ark" for several thousand employees of banks, insurance companies, advertising agencies and every manner of enterprise, including a modeling agency and a dance band. Comes the holocaust, these blessed few will be sped to their impregnable refuge, nor will they be under the harsh necessity of taking up arms against intruders. A 28-ton bank vault door, described as larger than the one at Fort Knox, will keep out the non-elect, and security guards will take care of any shooting that may be required.

The tunnels and shafts of the original iron mine have been converted into office and living space now totaling 250,000 square feet, with another 50,000 square feet under construction. The office space includes an exact reproduction of a modern financial cathedral, glass doors and all. From the bank floor a handsome curving staircase leads to an "Atomic Hilton" for executives and their aides, male and female; wives are numbered among the latter. A large lounge area is furnished in Early American, a dining area can handle sixteen at a sitting from an up-to-the-minute kitchen. The question of sleeping quarters, which often involves delicate questions of etiquette and human relations, has been solved by providing dormitories with bunks for junior executives, secretaries and the like, while senior executives and their lawful spouses will occupy suitable bedrooms.

The farsighted institutions which have made these provisions against disaster will presumably receive timely warning so that their chosen people will not be caught in the stricken metropolis. Flight time to Iron Mountain in a Mach 0.8 company airplane should not exceed fifteen minutes. Once behind the ponderous gates, they can enjoy the good feeling of knowing that they are sitting it out in the best there is.

There seems to be only one flaw in these excellent arrangements. In thirty days the fuel for the emergency generators and the food and liquor will run out. Even if these can be replenished by the storage company (which, however, has no obligation beyond thirty days), the refugees must eventually venture forth. And then, as the reporter says, "whether anything will be waiting for them is in other hands."

The Man Who Tried To Stop the Cold War

In a longer perspective it should be even clearer than it is today that the quintessential historical point about the career of Henry Agard Wallace was that he tried to stop the cold war—and was struck down with force and violence by the Great God Juggernaut. Up to the time that he broke with Truman (or perhaps one should say when Truman broke with him) over this issue, he enjoyed, for excellent reasons, a deep and wide respect. He was an exemplary public official, dedicated, hard-working, incorruptible; a man of intellectual and moral integrity—and everyone knew it. He was a first-rate practical scientist; he laid the groundwork for an agricultural policy which, whatever its limitations, was certainly a success in allaying farm unrest and raising farm income. His food-stamp plan and his "ever normal granary," and his splendid wartime work, marked him as an inventive and able administrator. Aside from the usual captious criticism of any well-known public figure, Wallace enjoyed a wholly admirable reputation—that is, until he tried to stop the cold war. The fact itself, and not its embellishments, is what resulted in his being cast into outer darkness, well beyond the pale which the Establishment reserves for "responsible" (read "kept") dissenters. That he had no sense of tactics or timing, that he was induced to accept some of the worst political advice imaginable, that the form and content of the '48 campaign were faulty in the extreme, none of this is important when measured against the essential fact: he wouldn't go along with the cold war. If his tactics had been brilliant, if his criticism had been sharper, the result would have been exactly the same. He was a moralist, not a politician. It was because people knew that he acted from principle that they regarded his criticism as unforgivable; expediency can always be winked at, but not high moral conduct.

Because Wallace elected to withdraw almost completely from public life after the '48 campaign and devote himself to pursuits he liked much better than politics — breeding varieties of gladioli, strawberries and corn, and improving the production of large-breasted chicken—he made it possible for the Establishment to deal with his death in surprisingly friendly and generous terms. If he had continued his efforts to stop the cold war, the obituaries would have been shorter, the sentiments in the editorials less generous, and the appraisals less objective. The tone of the comment about his career was also influenced by another consideration. In 1948, Wallace saw clearly enough (he had seen it even earlier) that Truman's cold-war policies would lead to war as indeed they did, in 1950. In retrospect it would be hard for any but the most intransigent cold warrior to deny that Wallace was more right than his critics, that the course of events since 1948 has largely confirmed what he had to say about the cold-war policies Truman substituted for the wartime policies of Roosevelt. Not that the time has yet come for such an acknowledgment. Apparently we must fight a few more wars before we are ready to make the admission. But the year is 1965 and we are at war in Vietnam. This latest war, cruel, dirty and shameful, is an outgrowth of the blind pursuit of the same cold-war policies that Wallace opposed. Reading between the lines of the notices about his death, one could hear a small voice saying, "After all, this man just might have been right." But for all his brilliant achievements, Henry Wallace was a "failure" when measured by the American Gospel of Success; imagine a man who would toss away a brilliant career for a principle!

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Is the Automobile Incurable?

Southern California is to the automobile what Australia is to the rabbit. A pest elsewhere in the country, it has become a plague in the great urban sprawl along the coast and into the desert from Los Angeles. California has fought intelligently and vigorously to control and confine the car, to tame it and to curb its most destructive characteristics. As the two following articles bear witness, the people have won at best a Korean victory over their beast of burden.

And the epidemic begins to spread. Smog, which the rest of the country took some ironic pleasure in identifying with Sunny California, is now coating the throats and blearing the eyes of citizens in every urban center; super highways are proving to be more boa constrictors than rivers of steel; parking lots are overpowering the enterprises and resorts they service. Vernon G. Mackenzie, chief of the Air Pollution Division of the Public Health Service, warns that the carbon dioxide now being poured into the atmosphere may turn the earth into an oven by trapping the sun's heat. Man finds new cures for his ailments every year; is there a cure for the car?

Smog Today & Smog Tomorrow . . Morris Neiburger

During the last week of October, as the first automobiles to be equipped with systems for reducing the air pollution of their exhaust began to appear on the streets and freeways of Los Angeles, the worst smog of a decade spread over the entire Los Angeles Basin. Eye smarting, headaches and nausea were experienced in sections previously immune to these effects. "First-stage alerts," based on oxidant (principally ozone) measurements exceeding one-half part per million, were declared. The Los Angeles County air pollution control officer, Louis J. Fuller, urged motorists to refrain from unnecessary driving, and prepared to take steps to close down industrial operations and restrict traffic if the second-stage alert, triggered when the oxidant level rises to one part per million, were reached.

The people of the area, lulled for the past few years by assurances that the problem was being met by the control of stationary sources and the installation of crank-case blow-by recirculating devices on cars, and that the remaining major source—auto exhaust—would soon be controlled also, became aroused once more by the intensity, extent and duration of the siege. They demanded to know why, after twenty years of study, legislation and enforcement, the yellow-brown pall was as thick as ever and even more widespread. The answer of officials —that without the controls presently in force the smog would have been much worse — provided small solace. The "buck passing" of some politicians, such as the charge by Mayor Samuel W. Yorty that state officials, particularly Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, have been negligent in developing controls, was recognized as political hay making. But the questions, why the smog is still with us, and what can and will be done, once more preoccupy a weeping, coughing public.

Despite frequent references to its lethal effect, no deaths have been traced directly to the smog of Los Angeles. However, it was surely a contributing factor in some marginal cases, and the general discomfort it produces has in the past given rise to such public reactions as the unseating of a chief of the County Air Pollution Control District and a mayor of Pasadena. Whether it will again have political repercussions depends in part on how realistically the people appraise the nature of the problem and the responsibility for its solution.

It has taken a long time to convince the people that the main offender is not industry — not the petroleum refineries, the steel and chemical processing companies — but rather the motor vehicles, now more than 4 million, driven daily by the citizens of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Strict controls have been put on the industrial sources. But while motor vehicles had been first pointed to as a probable source in 1947, while the hydrocarbons and nitrogen oxides which are in their exhausts had been identified as the chemical raw materials of smog in 1950, and while by 1955 the major contribution of automobiles had been established, it is only in the 1966 models to be sold in California that the auto industry has introduced systems aimed at reducing the hydrocarbons. Control of the oxides of nitrogen is not yet being attempted.

Los Angeles is almost unique in the frequency and intensity of this peculiar type of smog. To be sure, other communities have experienced attacks with increasing frequency as the density of automobile traffic has increased, but Los Angeles, which prided itself on its climate, must dolefully admit that this climate, together with other geographical aspects, has maintained its eminence for this new kind of misery, so different from the dank blanket with which coal-burning areas are all too familiar.

The London pea-souper is true smog, a combination of coal smoke and fog. It occurs characteristically in the anticyclonic weather of the cold winter season. In Los Angeles, however, no coal is burned at all, and smog occurs with low relative humidity, after any fog has "burned off." It appears in summer or on warm days in other seasons.

In addition to large numbers of automobiles, there must be calms or light winds, a temperature inversion, and ample sunlight to convert the hydrocarbons to irritating substances by photochemical processes. Southern California has all these ingredients in good measure: the light winds, the strong and persistent temperature inversion and large quantities of intense sunshine, in addition to heavy traffic constantly moving (or occasionally stalled) throughout its network of freeways and surface streets.

Morris Neiburger, professor of meteorology at the University of California, Los Angeles, has served as senior meteorologist for the Air Pollution Foundation, and as a consultant to the Air Pollution Control District of Los Angeles County.

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When the eye smarting was first experienced in Los Angeles, during the latter part of World War II, it was attributed to emissions from factories making butadiene for use in manufacture of synthetic rubber. However, at the end of the war these plants ceased operations, but the eye smarting continued, the periods when it occurred became more frequent, and complaints came from more parts of the city.

In addition to the human discomforts and ailments, the smog caused wide damage to vegetation, particularly leafy vegetables such as spinach and lettuce. These plants, at one time a major crop in the area, can no longer be grown commercially in Los Angeles County.

The synthetic rubber plants having been absolved, other industries were suspected. The Air Pollution Control District of Los Angeles County, established under a state law passed in 1947, set standards limiting the emission of smokes, fumes and dusts from process industries, and sulfur dioxide from refineries and other chemical industries. It was recognized that the smokes and dusts were probably not at all responsible for the eye irritation. Nevertheless the smog was accompanied by a depressing haze, and that was objectionable in an area which gives considerable publicity to its blue skies and bright sunshine. At this time, however, the eye irritation, as well as some of the haze, was attributed to sulfuric-acid mist which was thought to rise from the sulfur-dioxide emissions.

Industry resisted the control measures, but eventually complied. The refineries protested about the expected costs of trapping sulfur dioxide, but it turned out that in most cases the sale of the recovered sulfur more than paid for the filtering process. But even though the sulfur-dioxide content of Los Angeles air, never as high as in some coal-burning communities, was cut to less than one half by these measures, the eye irritation, damage to crops, and poor visibility continued to increase.

It was the sensitive nose of Prof. A. J. Haagen-Smid, a biochemist at the California Institute of Technology, that identified the real nature of the smog. Professor Haagen-Smid, who had specialized in the nature of the chemical substances responsible for odors, fragrances

Drawings by Tomi Ungerer

and flavors, realized that the characteristic odor—almost a stench—which accompanies Los Angeles smog resembled closely the odor produced when certain hydrocarbons combine with ozone. By putting such hydrocarbons together with ozone in a laboratory flask Haagen-Smid produced not only the characteristic odor, but also the eye irritation when persons were exposed to the reacted gases. Plants exposed to them showed the same type of damage to the leaves as is caused by smog.

The existence of ozone in smoggy air had already been demonstrated in studies seeking to explain the cracking of tires and other rubber products. The mystery of where it came from was solved when further laboratory work showed that irradiation of a mixture of hydrocarbons and nitrogen dioxide in sunlight produced ozone as well as the other smog effects. Ozone concentration is now used as the primary index of smog intensity.

At first the oil industry disputed the role of hydrocarbons in producing smog effects and resisted attempts to control their emission during oil production and refining. It employed the Stanford Research Institute to carry on investigations paralleling those of the Air Pollution Control District, for which Professor Haagen-Smid worked as a consultant. Beginning in 1954, the oil interests participated in the formation of the independent Air Pollution Foundation, in which representatives of citizens groups, industrialists, commercial enterprises and the universities of the area joined in the attempt to foster an unbiased scientific solution to the problem.

While the initial investigations of the Stanford Research Institute suggested that many factors contributed to the smog manifestations, the accumulated evidence gradually confirmed Haagen-Smid's theory. A large smog reaction chamber, 50 cubic meters in volume, with artificial light sources capable of producing radiation equivalent to noon summer sun in Los Angeles, was developed under the auspices of the Air Pollution Foundation. In this chamber air containing amounts of hydrocarbons and nitrogen dioxide typical of the Los Angeles atmosphere was irradiated, and was found to develop high-ozone concentrations. To test for eye irritation, air from the chamber was conducted to booths where it passed over the eyes of volunteers. These people were subjected to air from the chamber and to pure filtered air in such fashion that they did not know when one or the other was being used. Their report of whether or not they experienced eye irritation and how much was thus not affected by subjective reactions. Similar tests were conducted with plants to see what concentrations of which hydrocarbons produced damage. The conclusion was that irradiation of certain mixtures of hydrocarbons and nitrogen dioxide, in concentrations

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which occur on smoggy days in Los Angeles, definitely produce eye irritation and plant damage of the type experienced.

Even before the evidence was conclusive, the emissions from the petroleum industry began to be controlled, at first on a voluntary basis, and subsequently by rule of the Air Pollution Control Board. Refinery operations were converted to closed systems; storage tanks were covered, and leaky valves and pipes were constantly monitored and repaired. From a loss of more than 850 tons of hydrocarbons per day, estimated in 1952, the emissions were cut to less than 100 tons in 1956.

Soon after the importance of hydrocarbons had been recognized, the operation of automobiles was pointed to as being probably as important a source of trouble as the refineries. It is estimated that even when in perfect operating condition an automobile gives off unburned 7 per cent of the fuel it uses. The loss is smaller at constant cruising speed, but in the stop-and-go driving conditions of city traffic the figure is considered conservative. In 1952, on the basis of this estimate, the emission of hydrocarbons by automobiles was approximately equal to that from the petroleum industry. But by 1956, when emissions from industry had come under control, the number of autos and the miles they traveled had increased to the point that car emissions were estimated to be 1,350 tons per day.

To confirm that auto exhaust really causes smog the Air Pollution Foundation smog chamber was again used. An automobile was mounted on a dynamometer which enabled it to simulate conditions on the road while remaining stationary. It was "programed" to spend given fractions of the time accelerating, cruising, decelerating and idling. The exhaust was diluted, introduced into the smog chamber, irradiated, and carried to the booths where the eyes of the test subjects waited. The exhaust was found to contain adequate hydrocarbons and nitrogen dioxide for the formation of ozone, eye irritation and plant damage.

Many people were not convinced. They regarded the indictment of auto exhaust as a "cover up" to shield industry. There were mass meetings of outraged citizens. The mayor of the city of Pasadena, one of the localities most affected, withdrew from the election race in the face of the campaign of Warren Dorn, now a county supervisor, who promised that he would "take decisive action against the causes of smog." Gradually, however, most of the people have come around to acknowledging that the scientists and the political authorities were not protecting industry, that industry had already been compelled to "clean house" to an extent unequaled anywhere in the world, and that further progress depended not on eliminating a few large sources but on controlling millions of small ones.

The emphasis of the attack thereupon shifted to the development of devices to control car emissions. The County Air Pollution Control District attempted to persuade the automotive industry to develop and incorporate appropriate devices in their products. At the same time other manufacturers were encouraged to undertake research, the idea being that as soon as effective devices were approved new regulations could require them on all vehicles in Los Angeles County.

In 1960, the state of California established the Motor Vehicle Control Board to set standards, approve devices and enforce their installation and maintenance. The control of crank-case blow-by emissions, which were estimated to contribute between 15 and 25 per cent of the hydrocarbons in the air, presented no technical difficulty if the recirculating device was part of the original engine design, and the automobile industry incorporated such controls in 1961 models sold in California as well as in 1963 models sold throughout the United States. Crank-case blow-by devices for used cars, although available, raise some technical problems, and the requirement for their installation was postponed by the 1965 legislature.

The control of exhaust emissions, which are the preponderant pollutants entering the atmosphere, proved a more difficult problem. In an attempt to reconcile the desirable with the feasible, standards were set in 1961 which require approved devices to reduce hydrocarbon emissions by 80 per cent and carbon monoxide by 60 per cent. Auto manufacturers were urged to devise methods to achieve these reductions. Other firms and individuals were solicited to submit devices for testing by the board, which took over the testing laboratory that had been established by Los Angeles County.

For all one knows, the auto industry may have begun instantly to work hard on this problem. However, only when it seemed clear that the board had been shown satisfactory devices which it would require on the 1966 models did General Motors, Ford and Chrysler announce that they had their systems ready and would install them on all 1966

cars sold in California. The General Motors and Ford systems involve engine modification in which air is added in the exhaust manifold to complete the burning of the exhaust gases as they pass on through the muffler and tail pipe. The Chrysler "Cleaner Air Package" modifies the carburetor and spark distributor system to get more complete combustion in the engine itself.

The Clean Air Act amendments passed by Congress this year include a Motor Vehicle Air Pollution Control Act designed to establish standards and require control systems on new vehicles sold throughout the United States beginning with the 1968 models.

With respect to cars already on the road, the California law provides that used cars will be required to install devices for exhaust control when two devices have been approved as meeting the requirements with respect to effectiveness, durability and price. Only one de-

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vice has been approved so far. An attempt to delete the requirement for two approved devices, which would have given some firm a virtual monopoly in the supply of devices for used cars (the business is estimated at $400 million) was defeated in the legislature in October, at the height of the smog attack. No satisfactory second device is in sight. Thus for the present the reduction of vehicle effluents will depend on the slow departure of old cars from the scene.

This replacement had not yet begun in October, 1965, when adverse weather conditions gave rise to a smog siege as serious as any previously experienced. Will that be the last one, now that cars with exhaust-control systems have become available? Since new cars come onto the street faster than old cars go to the junkyards, it is clear that even if the control systems are maintained at the required levels of effectiveness throughout the lives of the cars equipped with them, the reduction of hydrocarbons will not be 80 per cent at the end of ten years when most of the present cars have been replaced. In fact, at the present rate of vehicle proliferation, the reduction may be little more than one half that figure, and in another ten to twenty years California may be back to full smog again.

A further concern is the fact that systems presently approved or in prospect do not control the amount of oxides of nitrogen in the exhaust. In addition to being a reagent in the photochemical reaction which produces eye irritation and other smog effects, nitrogen dioxide is poisonous in itself. Scientific opinion differs as to whether reduction of hydrocarbons alone will alleviate smog symptoms, but the consensus leans toward the view that nitrogen-oxide control is in any case essential.

A first step toward requiring this control was taken October 29, when the California State Board of Public Health adopted standards for purity of air with respect to oxides of nitrogen. It set the level at 0.25 parts per million, a value frequently exceeded in Los Angeles smog. The Automobile Manufacturers Association has opposed the setting of standards for nitrogen oxides. It remains to be seen whether the auto industry will make efforts to eliminate these emissions before being forced to do so by competitive devices. It will be years before this pollutant is controlled, for the standards of allowable concentrations in exhausts must first be established, and after that a means to accomplish them must be found.

The people of Los Angeles are becoming aware that the control of pollution from internal combustion engines will come slowly and with difficulty. They are now asking about alternative solutions, such as an adequate mass-transit system, perhaps subsidized by the gasoline tax. The possibility of returning to electric power both for mass transit and for individual vehicles is being called more and more to their attention. Whatever their other drawbacks, electric vehicles are smog-free.

The citizens of Los Angeles and California are somewhat discouraged that after twenty years of hard work the situation seems so far from solution. They are encouraged, however, by the fact that after having fought the battle against smog alone for many years, they are at last being joined by other cities and states, and by the federal government. The recognition that it is not a problem peculiar to the West Coast, and the joining of the forces on a national basis, may possibly compel the auto industry to assume its responsibility for the development of smog-free vehicles. Only when truly smog-free transportation is available can there be pure air in the modern megalopolis. The mustering of the power of the federal government through the Motor Vehicle Air Pollution Control Act may lead to a more alert response from the auto industry than Los Angeles and California were able to stimulate in the past.

Life in the Parking Lot . . . . . Richard G. Lillard

New freeways and streets in new cities and subdivisions increasingly bandage the cut-up face of old Southern California, until traditional features are all but masked. And alongside the ribbons are ever bigger new splotches of blackish scab, the parking lots.

These lots are a synthetic desert, drier and uglier than the sandy washes and brown hills that Spanish explorers plodded across. They allow no rain to soak down and no seed or rootstalk to send green shoots up. Acres at a time, created in a day by a few men and machines, parking lots replace a famous scene. They replace an Eden of orange and apricot orchards, vineyards, olive groves, venerable specimen trees from five continents, and fields with soil uniquely fit for lima beans, celery, lettuce and flowers grown for blooms or seed. Homes go, too, whole blocks of them, and commercial structures, along with rounded hilltops, mountain meadows, ocean headlands and arroyos. Just about everything must give way to the car—immobile as well as on the move.

For every hour that the average owner drives his car, or idles it at a stop signal or in a traffic tie-up, he leaves it parked for eleven hours. Though autos in motion are a principal impression the air passenger receives of Los Angeles at night, parked cars are the principal scenery when one dines by the tower windows of Hosts International at the airport or sightsees from the top of City Hall, or when one arrives for the races at Santa Anita or Hollywood Turf Club or winds up to the stadium where the Dodgers are enshrined.

In 1964 the dealers of Los Angeles County sold more cars than dealers in any state, except for California itself and five other states. In that year, California officials registered 3,220,849 automobiles in

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Los Angeles County alone, and millions more in adjacent counties. Cars in such numbers, plus the ungainly rectangular inflexibility of each separate car, the inherent limit to open space even in this recently agricultural area, the habit of riding alone to work or to shop—these have made the stationing of cars a major economic and emotional problem. It is not much helped by the multistoried parking structures that begin to rise at supermarkets, department stores, office buildings, and at Los Angeles International Airport.

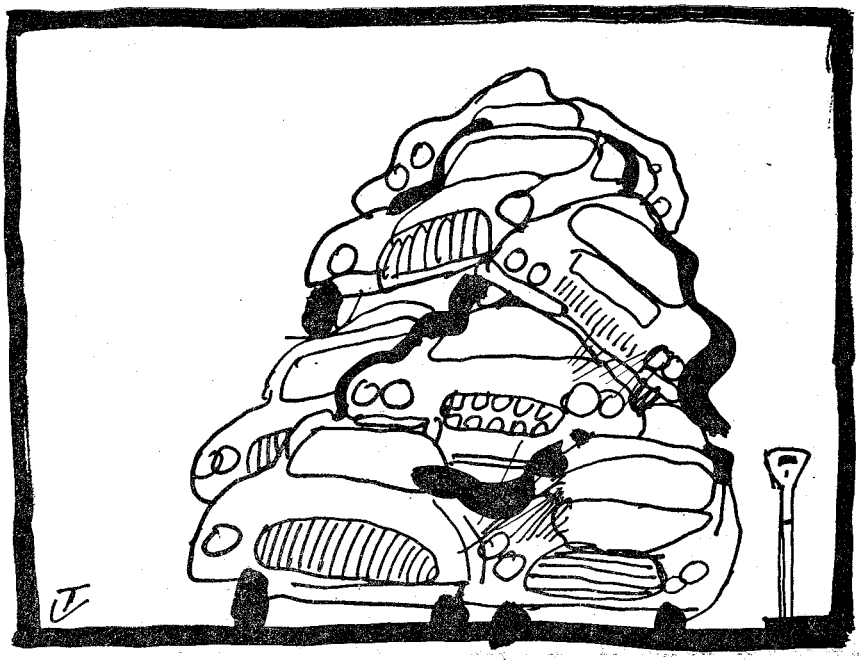
Parking is now a primary concern for government bureaus and for private employers, since most employees, like their bosses, drive to work, solitary amid their tons of metal and safety glass. Parking is expensive in downtown lots, where half-hour charges seem a racket to many autoists, and streetside parking meters, though democratic, are penny and nickel nuisances. Thriving gloriously in the suburbs, a new breed of merchandisers, including discount houses, provide 3 square feet of free parking for every square foot of building at ground level. In valleys and on hillsides away from central Los Angeles and San Diego, Santa Barbara and Anaheim, squat new department stores and shopping plazas are surrounded by plains of blacktop, to which drivers will come for miles in order to make all their purchases at one parking.

Doctors, dentists and beauty-shop operators find premises available to customer parking. With proprietors of theatres, amusement parks, hostelries, race tracks, arenas and cemeteries, parking facilities become an obsession. No parking, no patrons. So the fleets of dump trucks bring in the loads of blacktop and the rollers quickly flatten it for patrons at motels in San Diego's Mission Valley, or amid the sand dunes and the former date palm gardens near Palm Desert, for crowds at Disneyland or at Knott's post-agricultural Berry Farm. At pleasure spots in the San Bernardino and San Gabriel mountains, machine-age lumberjacks deforest long strips to make way for stationary vehicles of summertime lake swimmers and wintertime skiers. Planners in Long Beach say that surfside development is governed not by the number of people who can get on the sand but by the number of cars that can find parking space. Big public developments like Mission Bay in San Diego have elaborate ratios such as 1.25 parking spaces for each guest facility in a motel or boatel, .3 parking space for each 400 square feet of solid ground park area, or .3 parking space for each 2 linear feet of beach.

Churches, high schools, museums, women's clubs, golf clubs and colleges face the same problem. California State College at Los Angeles, reached almost exclusively by private car on its isolated, brand-new campus, provides only 3,100 car spaces for its 20,000 students, but soon a whole vale of modest homes will give way to a parking area. San Fernando State College has 2,500 more student drivers than parking places. As a result, 4 miles of near-by residential streets are a teeming parking district.

In 1962, the University of California at Los Angeles provided on its ex-hilltops more parking space, paid for by faculty, students and visitors, than is to be found at any other university in the world. Yet each day hundreds of students were turned away from the lots and the one multilevel parking structure, and many students parked a mile away and walked to their classes—a healthful but involuntary act. Some took to biking. Some who had been admitted to the university did not register because they were dissatisfied with the parking arrangements. Two years later — when 24,000 students were enrolled — the university had two more parking structures. The three structures, together with forty-four surface lots, held 9,389 cars at a time, and there were also 425 meter-controlled curb spaces on campus roads. But car ownership and enrollment were increasing faster than parking space. To provide more space, the university uprooted most of an experimental orchard of citrus and avocado trees and took away space formerly consecrated to baseball, soccer, other sports and the ROTC. Plans now call for an additional parking structure every seven years. The official charge for student parking, $30 a year, is catching up with the big registration fee charged for a free higher education. Meanwhile the university keeps putting up new buildings, adding departments and institutes, clogging up the campus with architecture and cars, and officials planning ahead have found a constricted area for a space-science center and an aerospace science center. There Willard F. Libby and other scientific minds can study and solve the problems of supra-campus space.

In Indio and the North Park District of San Diego, for two examples, city planners are busy with studies for underground, roof-top, and off-street parking. Increasingly and wisely, planners want to get the cars out of sight, to bury them. Population in densely inhabited areas will be limited, say the Long



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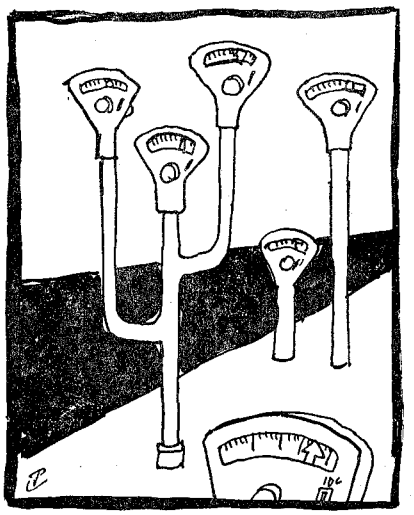
Beach experts, by the numbers of motor vehicles requiring storage facilities. New high-rise apartment buildings devote five or six of their lower floors to parking space (a new haunt for Hollywood thieves), and some home owners in fashionable districts pave part of their front lawns and gardens to provide parking for guests. A 1965 Beverly Hills ordinance, designed to preserve the appearance of elegant residential districts, requires that not more than 65 per cent of a front yard area may be paved.

The time-honored way to accommodate standing autos in the cities of Southern California is to raze downtown buildings and use their ground area for parking, an expedient now being used in Nice and other car-infested European cities. This solution demolishes the city in order to save it. New buildings in the center of Los Angeles add a million square feet of office space a year, and car-parking needs go up about 10 per cent annually. The result is a quickened destruction, more exact than wartime bombing, of useful and sometimes historic buildings. The Civic Center area looks more and more like Arizona's Monument Valley, with monolithic towers scattered amid a vista of hot, sterile pavement covered with the lifeless bodies of automobiles, glaring in the sunlight, radiating sun heat, giving to sun-baked motorists walking toward shade such pre-machine-age sensations as hot soles, sweaty torsos and squinting eyes.

Each Southern California driver who goes to the theatre or is invited out to dinner faces the problem of stationing his car within feasible distance of the address. All plans must allow plenty of time for the rituals of parking. The Los Angeles City School Districts in announcements of teachers' institute meetings has said: "To insure prompt arrival at the place of meeting it is recommended that an allowance of at least twenty minutes



be made to overcome the parking problems which are encountered everywhere."

Many hosts couple their invitation with instructions as to where to park, especially in crowded apartment-house districts, on constricted beach-house peninsulas as at Newport, or near boulevards posted with "No Parking Anytime." Hillside hosts for wedding receptions and other special events sometimes have their guests park on a wide boulevard below and then transport them up and down by means of a shuttle bus or cab service. Couples on a tight budget take the cost of parking, like the cost of baby-sitting, into account when figuring the prospective expenses for an evening out at a theatre or restaurant. People have been known to let family ties and friendships fade and die because parking was too difficult near where the others lived.

In a world of self-transportation, one solution to parking is to make the vehicle part of the event. Hence the early success of drive-in eateries, the building of drive-in banks and liquor stores, the present incipient success of drive-in churches sanctified parking lots), and the widespread success the year around of drive-in movie theatres (attended by families by the carload).

The logic of this trend leads to the trailer park, where people inhabit their vehicles, existing organically connected to their tires, license plates and automobile-registration slips. There are more than 250,000 trailers in Los Angeles County, together with 200,000 in other Southern California counties; a high percentage of all these are dwellings. In California, as in Arizona and Florida, the trailer park is the ultimate in automobile society — it is round-the-clock living on the parking lot.

More and more, the Southern California that attracted the nation's mobile millions by its natural beauty, its exotic crops, and its tree-lined residential streets is being resurfaced with parking lots for the cars and trailers of the thousands who arrive each month to see the very things that their arrival and their motor vehicles are destroying. The process will end when Southern California is completely paved from the ocean to the Colorado River.

Management, Distribution, Planning

The New Russian Revolution . . . Margaret Miller

On October 4, 1965, Russia's Council of Ministers approved the new Charter for Industrialists which had been promised by Premier Khrushchev as long ago as November, 1962. This was the final step in the sweeping economic reforms initiated by Mr. Khrushchev and continued by his successors. The highlights of the new law give practical details of the way it affects plant management.

The manager must still operate within the general limits of the state plan, as decided by the government and conveyed to him in the form of "control figures" by the body to which his enterprise is directly subordinated. But within this framework he is free to work out his own plan according to the capacity and resources of his plant. It is the duty of the supervisory body to insure that the plan finally

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Russian Foundry

given to the enterprise provides the director with the labor, finance and materials he needs to carry out the duties assigned to him, and also that these duties are mutually coordinated. Once the plan is set, the higher body is specifically debarred from making any changes during the course of the planned period, unless the enterprise is first consulted, and corresponding changes are made in the amount to be produced, planning indicators and budget allocations. A factory which has successfully fulfilled its plan and has materials and by-products left over is given a new freedom to use these for further production, at its own discretion. The aim of this section is to give the director fewer and more general planning directives, and to let him work out the executive details himself.

The new charter shows definite indications of a desire to strengthen local initiative in these matters. The plant director confirms the contracts entered into with building organizations in the case of capital construction and repairs, and with research institutes when improvements in technology are concerned. Part of the central funds allotted for these purposes can, at the discretion of the director, be used for construction that benefits his staff: housing, children's nurseries, medical buildings, etc.

The provisions here also strengthen local initiative by leaving at the disposal of the enterprise a much larger proportion of the profits accruing from its work, and from allowances for depreciation, instead of directing the bulk of these to central funds as hitherto. The director thus gains considerable scope for ploughing money back into his own concern. For example, the production fund could be used to finance technical improvements, modernize equipment, expand production, in ways he decides would do most good. Evidently such resources had been very sparse in the past. In commenting on this part of the law, Premier Kosygin said that they had amounted to only 700 million rubles in 1964, but would rise to more than 4 billion rubles in 1967.

An incentive fund, also built up out of profits, would enable the director to pay efficiency bonuses, to construct welfare amenities, notably housing, for his workers. Here again, Mr. Kosygin revealed the inadequacy of previous provision when he said that only half of Russia's industrial enterprises had had special funds of this kind, and of these only a few were adequate. Bonuses had had to be paid out of the general wages fund, which meant that there was simply not enough money to give the workers effective monetary and welfare incentives. Specific provisions prohibit the supervisory body from alienating or redistributing the money in these funds.

Increased freedom is counterbalanced by new responsibilities. The director no longer gets his fixed and working capital as "handouts" from the state. They are allocated to him as long- and short-term credits on which he pays the equivalent of a rate of interest. Thus he is encouraged to "mobilize his internal reserves" and make the most economic use of his resources. Some of the provisions of the act relate directly to "internal reserves" that exist in most factories in the shape of temporarily unused or surplus equipment, buildings, machines, and so on. The director may now dispose of these, either by selling them or renting them to other bodies at prevailing local rates. He is also empowered to write off obsolete equipment, bad debts and minor losses due to spoilage. His personal interest in doing all this is secured by allowing him to use the sums accruing as additional working capital or above-plan capital investment, according to the source of the income.

An impressive list of new powers is accorded to the manager in recruiting, handling and paying his employees. Previously he was told how many workers, of what grades, he was to hire, how much and in what way they were to be paid, what their rate of productivity should be,

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and the percentage by which it should increase. Now, in place of all these separate indicators on labor, the factory plan will contain only one, the general wages fund. Within this, the manager can "hire and fire," decide the proportion between administrative, technical and manual workers of all grades, set up time and piece rates, bonus systems, including special bonuses of up to 30 per cent of normal salaries for highly qualified personnel.

One's first reaction to this long-awaited piece of legislation is an astonishment that three years of intensive work behind the scenes, accompanied by an avalanche of speeches by Soviet leaders, proposals and counter-proposals by economists, industrialists, government officials, should have done no more than confer upon Soviet managers executive powers that are taken for granted by their counterparts in free-enterprise societies. In fact, any Western director who failed to exercise them would be held to be in grave dereliction of duty. Against the background of Soviet conditions, however, the changes are tremendous, indeed revolutionary.

The key to their significance lies in the frequency with which the charter intervenes between the supervisory and the subordinate body, with the aim of giving the latter genuine freedom of action. The highly centralized, detailed control from above, characteristic of industrial management in the days of Stalin's "command" economy, has definitely been put aside. Mr. Kosygin's deputy, K. T. Mazurov, spoke of the former passivity, irresponsibility, even negligence, of some factory managers. Under the new dispensation they are expected to display "boldness" and "independence" in decision making. He did not mention that they had exercised these qualities unofficially in the past; but if they had not done so, the "command" system would have broken down much sooner than it did. Faced with unrealistic and frequently inconsistent orders from above, Russia's practical men had for many years banded together in an "economic resistance movement." They evaded the worst unreason of planning techniques by hoarding labor and materials, employing their own agents to secure needed supplies on the ubiquitous free market, setting up an extensive system of personal extra-plan contacts. An easily recognizable object of the charter is to make such activities unnecessary.

The charter also reveals the disappearance of the doctrinaire insistence on the inherent superiority of Socialist planning over the market mechanism, on the Marxist belief that, labor being the sole source of value, there could be no need for the automatic economic

(Continued on page 453)

PSYCHOLOGY of a GUARANTEED INCOME

Erich Fromm

Until now, man's freedom to act has been limited by two factors: the use of force on the part of the rulers (essentially their capacity to kill the dissenters); and, more important, the threat of starvation against all who were unwilling to accept the imposed conditions of work.

Whoever rebelled against these conditions, even if no other force was used against him, was confronted with hunger. The principle prevailing throughout most of human history (in capitalism as well as in the Soviet Union) is: "He who does not work shall not eat." This threat forced man not only to *act* in accordance with what was demanded of him, but also to *think* and to *feel* in such a way that he would not even be tempted to act differently.

The reason that past history is based on the threat of starvation has its source in the fact that, with the exception of certain primitive societies, man has lived at a level of scarcity. There were never sufficient material goods to satisfy the needs of all; usually a small group of "directors" took for themselves all that their hearts desired, and the many who could not sit at the table were told it was God's or Nature's law that this should be so. But it must be noted that the main factor in this was not the greed of the "directors" but the low level of material productivity.

A guaranteed income, which becomes possible in the era of economic abundance, could for the first time free man from the threat of starvation, and thus make him truly free and independent economically and psychologically. Nobody would have to accept conditions of work merely because he feared hunger; a talented or ambitious man or woman could learn new skills in preparation for a different kind of occupation. A woman could leave her husband, an adolescent his family. People would no longer learn to be afraid, if they did not have to fear for their bread. (This holds true, of course, only if no political threat inhibits man's free thought, speech and action.)

A guaranteed income would not only establish freedom as a reality rather than a slogan; it would also establish a principle deeply rooted in Western religious and humanist traditions: man has the right to live, regardless! This right to live—to have food, shelter, medical care, education, etc.—is an intrinsic human right that cannot be restricted by any condition, not even the one that the individual must be socially "useful."

The shift from a psychology of scarcity to that of abundance is one of the most important steps in human development. A psychology of scarcity produces anxiety, envy, egotism (to be seen most drastically in peasant cultures the world over). A psychology of abundance produces initiative, faith in life, solidarity. The fact is that most men

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are still geared psychologically to the economic facts of scarcity, when the industrial world is in the process of entering a new era of economic abundance. Because of this psychological "lag," many people cannot even understand the new ideas implicit in the concept of a guaranteed income.

A further effect of a guaranteed income, coupled with greatly diminished working hours for all, would be to make the spiritual and religious problems of human existence real and imperative. Until now, most men have been too much occupied with work (or too tired after work) to be seriously concerned with such problems as "What is the meaning of life?" "What do I believe in?" "What are my values?" "Who am I?" If work ceases to be the main concern, man will either be free to confront these problems seriously—or he will be driven half mad by boredom. It should follow that economic abundance, liberation from fear of starvation, would mark the transition from a pre-human to a truly human society.

To balance this picture, one must raise some objections against, or at least questions about, the concept of a guaranteed income. The most obvious question is whether it would not reduce the incentive for work.

It is a fact that even now there is no work for an ever-increasing sector of the population, and that for these people the question of incentive is irrelevant. Nevertheless, the objection is a serious one. I believe, however, that it can be demonstrated that material necessity is by no means the only incentive for work and effort. Pride, social recognition, pleasure in work itself—examples of the force of such alternate incentives are not lacking. An obvious one is the work of scientists, artists, et al., whose achievements were not principally motivated by the need for money but by a mixture of factors: interest in the work, satisfaction in the achievement, or the wish for fame. But obvious though this example may be, it is not entirely convincing, because it can be said that such outstanding people will make extraordinary efforts precisely because they are extraordinarily gifted; hence they give no clue to the reactions of the citizenry at large. This objection may be overcome, however, if we consider the incentives for people who are not notably creative. What prodigious effort is expended on sports, on recreation, on hobbies, from which no material rewards are to be expected! The extent to which interest in the work process itself can be an incentive for working was closely demonstrated for the first time by Prof. Elton Mayo in his classic study at the Chicago Hawthorne works of the Western Electric Company. The very fact that unskilled women workers were drawn into the experiment of work productivity of which they were the subjects, the fact that they became interested and active participants in the experiment, resulted in increased productivity. As a corollary, their physical health improved.

The situation becomes even clearer from the study of older forms of society. The efficiency and incorruptibility of the traditional Prussian civil service were famous, despite the fact that wages were very low. In this case such concepts as honor, loyalty, duty were the determining motivations for excellent work. Still another motivation appears in pre-industrial societies (like medieval Europe or the half-feudal Latin-American states at the beginning of this century). In these societies the carpenter, for instance, wanted to earn enough to satisfy the needs of his traditional standard of living, and would refuse more work when he had reached that point.

Aside from the multiple nature of the incentives to work it is a fact that man, by nature, is not lazy. On the contrary, he suffers from the results of inactivity. People might enjoy loafing for one or two months, but the vast majority (except for the very sick or the most philosophic) would after that beg to work, even without pay. The fields of child development and mental illness offer abundant data in this connection: what is needed is a systematic investigation in which the available facts are organized and analyzed from the standpoint of "laziness as disease." Modern, alienated man is deeply bored (usually unconsciously) and hence has a yearning for laziness, rather than for activity. This yearning, however, is itself a symptom of our "pathology of normalcy." Presumably, misuse of the guaranteed income would disappear after a short time, just as the new clerk in the candy store ceases to filch caramels after a few weeks of gorging.

Skepticism as to the benefits of the guaranteed income is also expressed in the observation that those who earn a comfortable living are probably just as afraid to lose a job that gives them, say, $15,000 a year, as are those who might go hungry if they were to lose their jobs. If this objection is valid, the guaranteed income would still increase the freedom of the large majority, but would do little for the middle and upper classes.

In order to deal responsibly with this objection we must consider the spirit of contemporary industrial society. Man has transformed himself into a *homo consumens*. He is voracious and passive, and tries to compensate for his inner emptiness by continuous and ever-increasing consumption (there are many clinical examples for this mechanism in cases of overeating, overbuying, overdrinking, as a reaction to depression and anxiety); he consumes cigarettes, liquor, sex, movies, travel, as well as education, books, lectures and art. He *appears* to be active, "thrilled," yet deep down he is anxious, lonely, depressed and bored (boredom can be defined as that type of chronic depression that can successfully be compensated by consumption). Twentieth-century industrialism has created this new psychological type, *homo consumens*, primarily for economic reasons, i.e., the need for mass consumption, which is stimulated and manipulated by advertising. But the character type, once created, also influences the economy and makes the principles of ever-increasing satisfaction appear rational and realistic.

Contemporary man, thus, has an unlimited hunger for more and more consumption. From this follow several consequences: if there is no limit to the greed for consumption, and since in the foreseeable future no economy can produce enough for unlimited consumption by everybody, there can never be true "abundance" (psychologically speaking) as long as the character structure of the *homo consumens* remains dominant. For the greedy person there is always scarcity—he never has enough, however much

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he has. Furthermore, he feels covetous and competitive toward everybody else. Hence he is basically isolated and frightened. He cannot really enjoy art or other cultural stimulations, since he remains basically greedy.

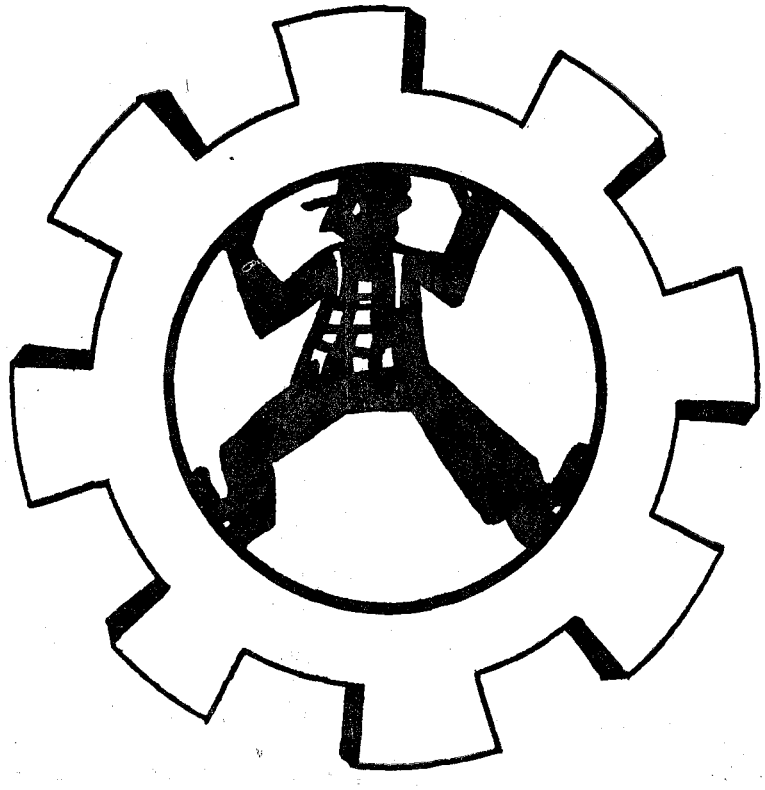
It follows that persons so oriented who lived on the guaranteed-income level would feel frustrated and worthless, and those who earned more would remain prisoners of circumstances, because they were frightened and had lost the possibility for maximum consumption. For those reasons I believe that guaranteed income without a change from the principle of maximal consumption would take care of only certain problems (economic and social) and would not have the radical effect possible from its implications.

What, then, must be done to implement the guaranteed income? Generally speaking, we must change our system from one of maximal to one of optimal consumption. This would mean a vast change in industry from the production of commodities for individual consumption to the production of commodities for public use: schools, theatres, libraries, parks, hospitals, public transportation, housing; in other words an emphasis on the production of those things that encourage the unfolding of the individual's inner productiveness and activity. It can be shown that the voraciousness of *homo consumens* is directed mainly toward the things he "eats" (incorporates); the free public services, which enable the individual to enjoy life, do not evoke greed. Such a change from maximal to optimal consumption would require drastic changes in production patterns, and also a drastic reduction of the appetite-whetting techniques of advertising.

These considerations lead to other problems that require further study: Are there objectively valid criteria to distinguish between rational and irrational, between good and bad needs, or is any subjectively felt need of the same value? (Good is defined here as enhancing human aliveness, awakeness, productivity, sensitivity; bad as weakening or paralyzing these human potentials.) In the case of drug addiction, overeating, alcoholism, we all make such a distinction. Study in this area should lead to the following practical consideration: what are the minimum legitimate needs of an individual? (For instance: one room per person, so much clothing, so many calories, so many culturally valuable commodities such as radio, books, etc.) In a society as abundant as the United States today, it should be easy to figure the cost for a *decent* subsistence minimum and also what the limits for maximal consumption might be. Progressive taxation on consumption beyond a certain threshold could be considered. All this would mean the combination of the principles of a guaranteed income, with transformation of our society from maximal to optimal individual consumption, and a drastic shift from production for individual needs to production for public needs.

I believe it is important to consider along with the idea of a guaranteed income the concept of *free* consumption of certain commodities. One example would be that of bread, then milk and vegetables. Let us assume that everyone could go into any bakery and take as much bread as he liked (the state would pay the bakery for all bread produced). The greedy would at first take more than they could use, but after a short time this "greed consumption" would wear itself out and people would take only what they really needed. Such free consumption would, in my opinion, create a new dimension in human life (unless we look at it as the repetition on a much higher level of the consumption pattern in certain primitive societies). Man would feel freed from the principle, "he who does not work shall not eat." Even this beginning of free consumption might constitute a novel experience of freedom. It is obvious even to the non-economist that the provision of free bread for all could be easily paid for by the state, which would cover this disbursement by a corresponding tax. However, we can go a step further. Assume that not only all minimal needs for food were obtained free—bread, milk, vegetables, fruit—but that everybody could obtain, without paying, say one suit, three shirts, six pairs of socks, etc., per year; that transportation was free (requiring, of course, vastly improved systems of public transportation), while private cars became much more expensive. Eventually, one imagines, housing could be solved in the same way, by big housing projects with sleeping halls for the young, one small room for older, or married couples, to be used without cost by anybody who chose.

This leads me to the suggestion that a way of solving the guaranteed-income problem would be by free minimal consumption of all



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necessities, instead of through cash payments. The production of these minimum necessities, together with highly improved public services, would keep production going, just as would guaranteed-income payments.

It may be objected that this method is more radical, and hence less acceptable than the proposal to guarantee everyone an income for life; but it must be noted that free minimal services could theoretically be installed within the present system, while the idea of guaranteed income will not be acceptable to many not because it is not feasible but because of the psychological resistance against the abolishment of the principle: "he who does not work shall not eat."

One other philosophical, political and psychological problem to be studied is that of freedom. The Western concept of freedom was to a large extent based on the freedom to own property, and to exploit it, as long as other legitimate interests were not threatened. This principle has actually been punctured in many ways in Western industrial societies by taxation, which is a form of expropriation, and by state intervention in agriculture, trade and industry. At the same time, private property in the means of production is becoming increasingly replaced by the semi-public property typical of giant corporations. While the guaranteed-income concept would mean some additional state regulations, it must be remembered that today the concept of freedom for the average individual lies not so much in his freedom to own and exploit property (capital) as in his freedom to consume whatever he likes. Many people today consider it an interference with their freedom if unlimited consumption is restricted, although only those on top are really free to choose what they want. The competition between different brands of the same commodities and different kinds of commodities creates the illusion of personal freedom, when in reality the individual wants what he is conditioned to want. A new approach to the problem of freedom is necessary; only with the transformation of *homo consumens* into a productive, active person will man experience freedom as the opportunity to do what is most fulfilling and not as an unlimited choice of commodities.

The full effect of the principle of the guaranteed income is to be expected only in conjunction with:

(1) A change in habits of consumption, the transformation of *homo consumens* into the productive, active man (in Spinoza's sense).

(2) The creation of a new spiritual attitude, that of humanism (in theistic or nontheistic forms).

(3) A renaissance of truly democratic methods (for instance, a new lower house of Congress in which would be integrated decisions arrived at by hundreds of thousands of face-to-face groups).

The danger that a state that nourishes all could become a mother goddess with dictatorial qualities can be overcome only by a simultaneous, drastic increase of democratic procedure in all spheres of social activities. The fact is that even today the state is extremely powerful, without giving these benefits.

In sum, together with economic research in the field of the guaranteed income, other study must search out the psychological, philosophical, religious and educational parallel effects. And it must not be forgotten that the guaranteed income can succeed only if we stop spending 10 per cent of our total resources on economically useless and dangerous armaments, if we can halt the spread of senseless violence by systematic help to the underdeveloped countries, and if we find methods to contain the population explosion. Without such changes, no plan for the future will succeed, because there will be no future.

Discipline in the Dark

On Beating School Children

Richard M. Gummere, Jr.

America has generally outlawed the manhandling of prisoners, soldiers, sailors, vagrants, lunatics and animals. But not school children. On the contrary, more of them are being beaten today, in more schools, than were thwacked a generation ago. That is the guess, anyway, of knowledgeable observers of education—and the great trouble is that informed guessing is at present as near as we can come to an overall view of the practice.

The American pupil is punished in the dark. Educators pummel him in private (or before school staff witnesses) not for his protection but for their own. They then tuck their paddles or rulers in their desk drawers. I know one principal who not only calls culprits into his office for punishment—he takes them into his closet. And in some school systems beating is supposed to be done after school hours.

Perhaps educators cloak their punishments in mystery because of fastidiousness—a trait the profession acquired a century ago when the schoolmarm drove the uncouth old schoolmaster out of our classrooms. Perhaps they doubt the worth of discipline by force, perhaps they are ashamed, perhaps afraid. Whatever the cause, I believe that this fog of reserve which hides the beating of our school children should be dispelled.

In English schools today—still a man's world—the view is less obscure, and honest attempts at uncovering facts about corporal punishment are being made there. Such an investigation was feasible because for centuries the English have been thrashing their youngsters heartily and openly (though for the real thing, say the English, go to Scotland!). Furthermore, the national government requires all headmasters to keep a record of all physical punishments inflicted.

Beating was once supposed to

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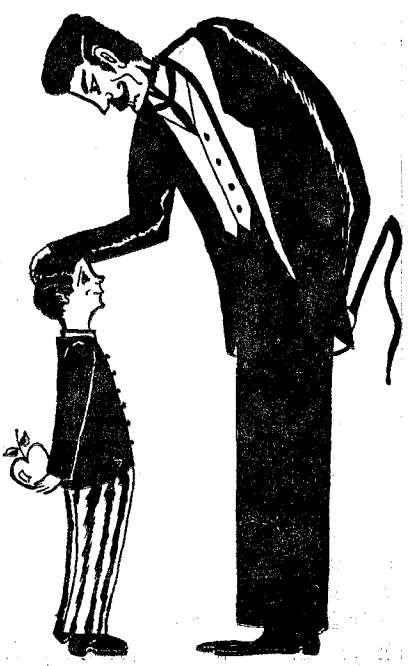
help make aristocratic young Englishmen into Latin scholars or empire builders and the rest into an obedient proletariat. The symbol of authority in many English schools, publicly handed by a retiring headmaster to his successor, used to be a whip. Today, the implement—usually a cane—appears to be wielded not to make pupils study nor to mold their character, but simply to help subdue the most bothersome of them.

The English are hassling more vociferously than we do over the merits of corporal punishment; the debate flourishes not only among educators but in the columns of the *Times* and on the floor of the House of Commons. There, one Labour M.P. pointed to a row of old Etonians and Harrovians on the Opposition bench and sarcastically asked: "Are we to take these honorable gentlemen as examples of the value of beating the young?" (Cheers from the Labour benches.) On the other hand, the disciplinarians even sent Viscount Montgomery of El Alamein—England's own Admiral Rickover—to preach tough discipline in America. (Among the English, too, well-known laymen, speaking out on issues that baffle the experts, appear to be received as soothsayers.) In two addresses at Columbia Teachers College in 1954, the General assured our educators that if they beat more children, fewer would turn into "hoodlums and criminals."

Thus, many Englishmen read with dismay the report of a study of discipline in thirty schools, *Caning, Behavior, and Delinquency in Secondary Schools*, West Ryding County Council, Yorkshire, 1961. The more whipping in a school, said the report, the worse its pupils' behavior as rated by government inspectors, and the higher the crime rate among them as judged by court records. Most important was this finding: if Harold and Henry grew up in the same type of neighborhood and home but now attend different schools, and if Harold's school beats and Henry's does not, Harold is likely to have the worse record of behavior.

Profiting from the British example, we might lift the veil of decorum that has fallen over corporal punishment on this side of the ocean, and try to assess it for ourselves. Why *are* we so Pollyannaish about it? The issue is rife enough. The National Education Association estimates that three-quarters of our school systems allow principals or teachers to beat their students. And in the last few years there have been signs of increasing interest in it, popular as well as professional. Authorities as diverse as the following have been publicly calling for beating in school: the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), the editor of the Herkimer, N.Y., *Evening Standard*, the superintendent of schools of Washington, D.C. (over J. F. Kennedy's public objections), the New York State Legislature (thwarted by three gubernatorial vetoes in a row), a judge writing in *The Saturday Evening Post*, a University of Southern California educator in his published doctoral thesis, the school board of Berkeley, Calif. (probably shaken by last year's rebellion at the nearby university) and a New York City bureaucrat, who declared: "We will have to let the teachers hit the kids; it's the only way." Educators in Stamford, Conn., found themselves in an interesting predicament: ordered by officialdom to resume beating some of their worse malefactors, they could find no specifications for an instrument with which to do it and no one who remembered what had been used of old.

So if they feel they must hit the kids—of Stamford, New York City, Berkeley, Washington, Herkimer, or any other town—let them be not so sanctimonious and *not* so devious about it. One gathers that over here, as in England, the purpose may no longer be academic, nor moral, but social—to control a rambunctious minority. Assuming that it is so, the nation should know more about this minority—just what sort of child is beaten, how often, and by whom? With that data, we could then attack the key question: to what effect?



Such empirical knowledge is badly needed, especially because the theoreticians are of little help. They are confined to what psychologist Percival Symonds called "systematic wondering." Old dogmas that once flourished have been scrapped. When Benvenuto Cellini's father wanted him for sure to remember seeing a salamander run through the fire unharmed, he gave the boy a brisk whipping. When 17th-century Puritans wanted their children for sure to pass safely to the next world, they beat them furiously in this one.

Today's educators have no substitutes for the strong assumptions behind those disciplinary practices of the past. Even behavioral scientists have to beg off when asked about the nature of learning and discipline in humans. This is not surprising, since they have concentrated their research on animals, mainly rats, cats, monkeys, and those famous salivating dogs of Professor Pavlov. Out of studies of an army of such simple subjects, and of a corporal's guard of human beings, come what are called "clues."

Some scholars guess that corporal punishment does more harm than good because of "noise"—that term of the communications experts for messages that come through other than the one intended. The principal beats Jimmy to stop him from pitching pennies at recess. Jimmy stops. Fine. That message got through. But Jimmy may have picked up other messages: for instance, that the way to solve problems is by force.

Some guess that moderate anxiety stimulates certain youngsters to learn and behave better. But can "dermal pain" (the phrase of G. Stanley Hall, our great pioneer Edwardian psychologist) induce this moderate anxiety? Hall guessed it can. But which of the youngsters would be stimulated by it and which only rattled? No one knows.

Some guess that beating of school

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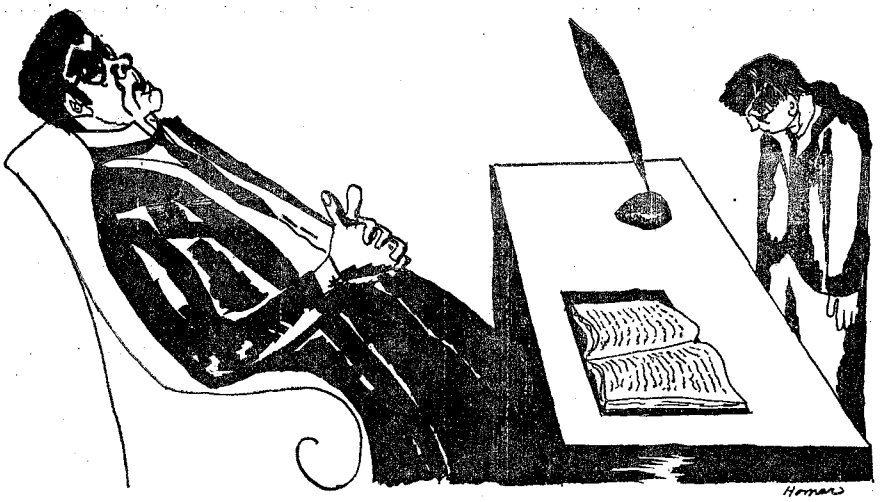

children serves as a relief for rigid or brittle teacher personalities; or as an outlet for the repressed hostility of professionals downgraded by society, and for the repressed sexuality of modern pedagogical puritans.

Some guess that the value of the whip or its variants is now symbolic, like that bundle of rods enclosing an ax that was carried in the train of a Roman official to remind the citizens of the state's authority to flog or behead them. The 18-inch ruler may be brandished by the principal, not so much to make young Jimmy shape up, as to symbolize the ultimate priority which that school gives to muscle over imagination.

One scholar of comparative education, Dr. Max Eckstein, asks this intriguing question: could we in America today be toughening up school discipline to prepare young people for the work of imposing our currently more imperial foreign policy? Rudyard Kipling showed in *Stalky & Co.* how he thought the discipline administered in English upper-class schools prepared the boys to help Britannia rule the waves and the Fuzzi-Wuzzies. England's role as a world power is waning, while America's is waxing. And in England today there is a growing mood to reduce corporal punishment of school children, in America a growing mood to increase it.

Some experienced educators have expressed another hypothesis: that the recent appeal for stepped-up corporal punishment in our schools may be mainly a social symptom: a protest by "upward-mobile" middle-class parents, administrators and teachers, aimed at lower-class children whom they resent or even fear. Not the Old Adam, but the Unsocialized Rebel has become the adversary. If so, it is no wonder that educators hesitate to let the outside world see how often they punish children who are not bad but unfortunate.

But as our critics guess, our educators beat. As a first step toward gathering statistics, why not unlimber a simple but effective weapon with which our ancestors fought the savage martinets a century ago: a public record of the number of youngsters beaten, school by school.

Our forefathers had no trouble keeping such records. For though their educators flailed away like medieval flagellants, they did it publicly. The all-time champion, both for mayhem and for thorough record keeping, may have been the German pedagogue described by Henry Barnard who noted every punishment he inflicted during fifty years in the classroom. In the end, his total exceeded 2 million, including 800,000 youngsters caned for mispronouncing Latin vowels.

Over here, Nathaniel Eaton, first head of Harvard, used a walnut cudgel to thrash his collegians so violently that even the 17th-century Massachusetts legislature intervened. Eaton was no sadistic eccentric either: his successor, President Henry Dunster, one of the finest educators in our history, enlivened the first commencement in the land by bringing two Harvard freshmen out in front of fellow students, faculty, parents, overseers and honored guests, and flogging them. In schoolhouses the hickory stick, birch rod, leather bridle, whalebone, or eel skin lay on the teacher's desk for all to see. A cat-o'-nine-tails hung in some classrooms. So did a leather paddle perforated with holes just the right size to raise blisters. These instruments could be set aside for others less violent but just as public: the one-legged stool (try sitting on one for a few minutes), or the wooden gag, like a horse's bit, to go in the mouths of the incorrigible talkers (who are still with us).

The punishment was always visible; indeed, it was theatrical for, as in the spectacle of a hanging, its chief value was thought to lie in its edifying effect upon onlookers. Old pictures of American schools show a sort of umbrella stand, up front, containing the teacher's armory of canes. Sometimes he set up a whipping post in the classroom. He ceremoniously thumped transgressors on the head with his Bible, in which it is written that we should beat our children "betimes." A teacher could assert his authority on opening day by whipping everybody. He could even thrash the girls, though he might punish them still more drastically: he might order one of them, burying her crimson face in her apron, to sit among the boys!

The bravura and visibility of his punishments were the old teacher's forte, but also his undoing. First, when disgraced before one another's eyes, his pupils began to strike back. Richard Henry Dana, whose *Two Years Before the Mast* helped outlaw the flogging of sailors, remembered that one teacher ceased a vicious beating only because his victim's classmates were about to come to the rescue. And sometimes the older boys would rush their instructor and throw him head over heels out the door, or even the window—for good. They did this so often that the custom got a name: "Turning the Teacher Out."

Next, open savagery provoked some of the more sensitive educators to join in the revolt. A New York City principal, Dr. Thomas Hunter, whipped two boys for an offense of which he soon found them innocent. Handing them his whip, he ordered the boys to beat him with equal vigor. They refused. He says he never struck another pupil. Neither did the graduates of the city's first teachers' college, founded by Hunter and now named for him.

Finally, angry parents and school-board members began to gather the

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systematic evidence needed for a showdown. Their stratagem was to require principals to count the beatings given and to publish the count. In the 1840s, Horace Mann, visiting a Massachusetts school of 250 pupils, could find out that during a recent week 328 floggings had been administered. With characteristic thoroughness, Mr. Mann calculated that this made it 65⅔ per diem.

Keeping count, our Victorian forebears could then make some rational judgments. In New York City in 1866, the number of beatings reported reached 130,000. Popular protest forced certain schools to stop. Investigators compared attendance figures, examination scores, and pupil dismissals: the unbeaten children had improved remarkably over the beaten. That did it. The city soon outlawed corporal punishment in school.

Gathering such evidence, other cities and communities joined New York. By the end of the century, beating of American school children had become much less frequent and fierce. In the 1920s and 1930s, the practice appears to have reached a low ebb.

Public attention helped our ancestors subdue corporal punishment. Public attention could help us wipe it out today.

First, we must blow away the professional smoke screen. It's a good time to try, for practices and regulations vary wildly. At one extreme stand some school systems in California, where even the high school students are beaten, or some in northern New England where the women teachers are said to use their fists. In a school near my home (eastern rural New York State) the guidance counselor told me he regularly knocks youngsters to the floor of his office "to improve the school's morale." Though he caused a small stir doing this to a crippled girl, the authorities have just appointed him principal. By a murky logic, the physical educators are called on to inflict corporal punishment in schools such as one my children attended where two paddles hang in the gym—blue for boys, pink for girls.

In a further vast and important twilight area of discipline, irascible teachers cuff, rap and shake pupils, or throw chalk, erasers and other appropriate missiles at them. One teacher of a friend of mine used to fire a tennis ball, made deadly by soaking in a glass of water on his desk. Such disciplinary virtuosos may still flourish here and there.

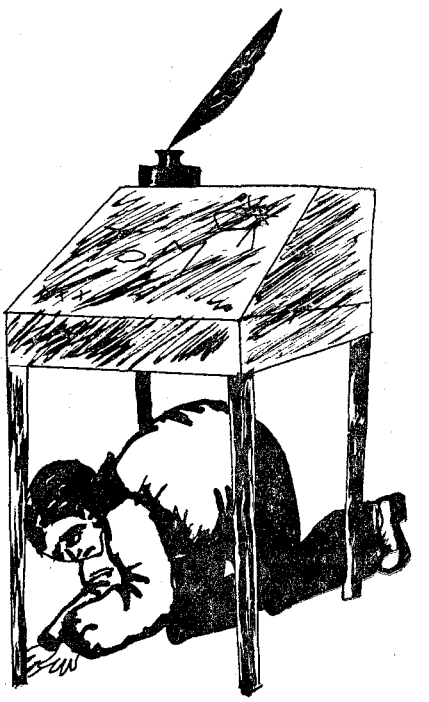
The hodgepodge of official regulations also signify a need and provide an opportunity for change. Spectacularly distinct in the confusion is New Jersey, the only state to have entirely forbidden corporal punishment in school (since 1867). A few other states impose regulations of sorts, according to a recent survey by an educator, Dr. Franklin Keith James: Maryland bans blows at a child's head; Oregon, Montana and Alaska, blows struck in anger (three warnings are required in Alaska). Georgia bans striking a child who is blind or deaf; Alaska confines blows to the child's posterior. Hawaii forbids cutting a pupil's hair.

But in numerous California school districts—on the firing line, as it were—Dr. James's survey revealed a kaleidoscopic variety of regulations, guesses about what goes on, and implied philosophies of discipline among both educators and laymen. Around the nation, he found, six of the largest cities permit corporal punishment; five ban it. According to my own observation, New York City does both. For the Board of Education officially forbids force, unofficially condones it, and lets administrators take the consequences. Frustrated by this paradox, and exposed in court, one New York principal jumped to his death from the roof of his school.

Characteristically, Dr. James refrained in his survey from asking educators how many of their pupils they beat. His reason: they wouldn't or couldn't tell.

Let's make the most of this "benign chaos," the phrase whereby Dr. Conant characterizes the state of all United States education. The American people should now insist on another systematic investigation: reverse the trend toward secrecy in physical discipline, keep an official tally of the number of punishments inflicted, record the names of teachers and administrators involved. Let the record be confidential—especially regarding the identity of the individual children beaten—but exact and complete. And let this data be kept in the principal's or superintendent's office, like the tally in pupils' attendance or IQs. That is, let us restore in a sophisticated form our Victorian principals' "Punishment Book," to be inspected by responsible persons justly concerned about the school's educational quality: the school board, state or regional accrediting officials, scholars doing educational research, parents with a reasonable concern.

Who is beaten, how often, by whom? Are the blows aimed at children from the other side of the tracks? at the spoiled rich? ethnic minorities? low IQs? high? Is one offender usually beaten often, or many once? Are teachers and principals who beat their pupils (or have them beaten) the new ones, or the old? the more competent or



the less? men or women? academicians or educationists? proletarians or bourgeoisie?

With clear answers to such relatively simple questions, answers may then be attempted to the more complex ones: is disorder caused more by what we teach pupils, the way we teach it to them, the pupils we teach it to, or the society which requires them to learn it? Does the trouble come more from failure of our "saber-toothed" curriculum? our classroom Ichabod Cranes? our restless youth? or the distraught grown-ups?

Winston Churchill said you can tell a lot about a society from the way it treats its criminals. Surely also its children.

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America, The Sublime

THE LIFE OF THE MIND IN AMERICA: From the Revolution to the Civil War. By Perry Miller. Harcourt, Brace & World. 338 pp. $7.50.

Alan Trachtenberg

When Perry Miller died suddenly in 1963 at the age of 58, he left unfinished what would have been the *magnum opus* of an already highly distinguished career: nothing less than a history of the development of the American mind in the first five decades of the 19th century. The work was to encompass nine books, each devoted to a facet of the "life of the mind" in this formative period. The plan was monumental, embracing such fields as evangelicism, jurisprudence, science, education, political economy, theology, philosophy, and themes like Nature and the Self. The entire work would have comprised something of a field theory of American mental life and, to judge by the completed volume (consisting of two books, "The Evangelical Basis" and "The Legal Mentality," and part of a third, "Tension: Technology and Science"), would have been a contribution of immense value.

But Miller's grand conception is not entirely lost. Although the current volume is a fragment, it contains enough for us to detect an emerging pattern, a network of themes which criss-cross the period. Most of the themes are already familiar: the 19th-century oppositions between heart and head, nature and law, practicality and theory. They are familiar in part because they are standard terms in the recovery of our literary tradition which began with Van Wyck Brooks, and others, about 1912. The study of American culture recently has been, in fact, mainly literary. Intellectual historians have joined literary scholars in acknowledging the major 19th-century writers as chief makers of a cultural tradition. This has led many people to assume that Emerson, Whitman and Melville were indeed decisive figures in their day. Nothing is further from the truth. Neither of these Olympians made much difference at all in the way most Americans conducted their intellectual and emotional lives. What they made of the themes and issues of their culture was something much different from what was transpiring in the minds of most of their countrymen.

Miller's book reminds us of this crucial fact about our civilization: the life of the mind was not, in the main, created by artists and "deep-diving" thinkers. Miller is not concerned with "great ideas" but with the prevailing frame of mind, the pattern of thought and predispositions to which most Americans (as far as the evidence shows) seemed to consent. His aim is to dramatize the inner workings of a new cultural mind trying to define itself. The subject, in short, is the process of thinking within the American consensus.

More clearly than anyone else so far, Miller demonstrates that consensus thinking in America has been in large part solipsistic. The world it conceives conforms to it, and it either absorbs all alien ideas to itself, or it rejects them as virtually nonexistent or, what amounts to the same thing, un-American. Miller's chief concern seems to be the mechanics of the consensus, how it works and what enforces it intellectually. The idea he has struck upon is that the enforcing agent is the concept of the sublime. *Rhetoric* of the sublime is more to the point for, although the prologue on "The Sublime in America" did not get written, it is clear nevertheless that the term refers to a feeling rather than a clear and distinct idea. Time after time writers and speakers on religion, law, science and technology, resort to the term as a final argument, an ultimate sanction. It had the effect of defending "Motherhood" or waving a flag: thought ceases and patriotic emotion takes over.

The sublime became a hallmark of the American consensus as a result of the repeated Revivals, or Awakenings, between 1800 and 1860. The concept was widely used in the 18th century, referring to the power of inspiring awe. "Sublime objects are vast in their dimensions," wrote Edmund Burke, little realizing that like so much else European the emotion would come into its own in the New World, where nature herself bespoke an awesome vastness. Revivalists seized upon the term to name the impact of the periodic manifestations of the divine will in frontier camp meetings, and it easily enough came to be the name of the only emotion appropriate to the prospect of America itself, regenerate, revived and moving steadily toward perfection. The intellectual content of revivalism, moreover, was opposed to speculation, to systematic theology, to Enlightenment reason. From the point of view of the Revival, writes Miller, "the intellect could be declared a threat to nationality." The heart became the truest emblem of true Americans, thus literally enabling each man to find his own salvation, and to trust it, in the heat of communal religious passion. Under these circumstances, the emotion of the sublime marked the highest expression of down-to-earth Americans. When the heart and the sublime found each other "in the passions of the Revival," writes Miller, "a basic condition of the mass civilization of the nation" came into being.

This is generally what Miller means by "the evangelical basis." The thrust of the Revival, he argues, was a quest for national identity. It might have appeared, in the decade after the Revolution, that the best grounds for unity were to be found in the Enlightenment, basically non-Christian though it was. The Great Awakening of 1800, however, turned the tide against Jeffersonian infidelism, and the "Christian specificity" of the nation was installed. In this sense the Revival might be considered counter-revolutionary. But in another sense it actually made democracy possible in a way the Enlightenment could not: it provided the necessary cohesive force for a sense of national community, a force rooted in the individual's rights to choose his own salvation. Camp meetings were therefore enactments of nationalism. They were rituals in which the community defined itself by identifying evil and purging it. And when it became clear

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that foreign atheism really had no voice in the country, the evil became something within, the tendency to grow lax in devotion and vigilance, backsliding, falling away. The aim was to keep the country whole by keeping it pure. What other grounds were there but purity of heart for America's divinely ordained mission? The missionary organizations themselves (an interesting instance of calculated organization employed to preserve spontaneous feelings) had this inward compulsion: the need to save the heathen world (an act of disinterested benevolence) was really the need to maintain permanent regeneration—and thus patriotism—at home.

"We are a Christian people," someone declaimed in 1853, "and we are free." No one argued with the paradox. While the Revival was establishing the voluntary principle of church membership, it was also charting the course toward a homogeneous white Protestant society. The sublime had emerged as a kind of American fundamentalism, powerful enough to take possession even of the traditional arguers or advocates of freedom, the lawyers. The most intriguing part of Miller's story in this volume is the drama of the law accommodating itself to the unshakable Christian-sublime character of American culture. The realistic function of the law in this period, Miller never allows us to forget, was to provide an instrumentality for social and economic change, to serve the interests of property and empire. To do so, however, it had to gain acceptance within American life, which is to say, within the American mind, and thus within the "community of sublimity." This took an extraordinarily subtle ideological maneuver, and an equally subtle scholarly method on Miller's part. In his treatment of the convergence of the multiple issues of economics, politics and ideology in specific court cases, like the Girard Will case, Miller works with true mastery.

The basic intellectual drama was this: by their nature, law and lawyers were sophisticated, inscrutable, suspect. Americans who imagined themselves as naturally reasonable and benevolent were consequently hostile to what they took to be "a conspiracy of the learned." Distrust was the first barrier the law had to overcome if it was to win a place within American life. If its function was to establish the inviolability of property and to free the forces of change and progress, it had to assert "the universal against the particular, the comprehensive rationality of traditional wisdom against the fiat of individual statute." This in itself brought the law into conflict with the Revival's dream of creating "a distinct, unique millennial utopia." In its largest perspective the conflict was between cosmopolitanism and nationalism.

Considering the odds against it, the law's rise as the dominant profession in this period was, as Miller writes, an amazing feat. But, he demonstrates, it won its acceptance in terms that would have astounded the writers of the Constitution. Law became respectable, as it were, by availing itself of the "supreme sanction of the 'sublime.'" The essential character of American law was its negativism and its cosmopolitanism (its most strenuous act was gaining the acceptance of English Common Law). Rhetorically, however, it learned to use a language which made its goals sound identical to the Revival's. The sanctions it developed in the mind included the idea that law was the same as moral perception and thus a "vision of perfection to which this society might uniquely aspire." It

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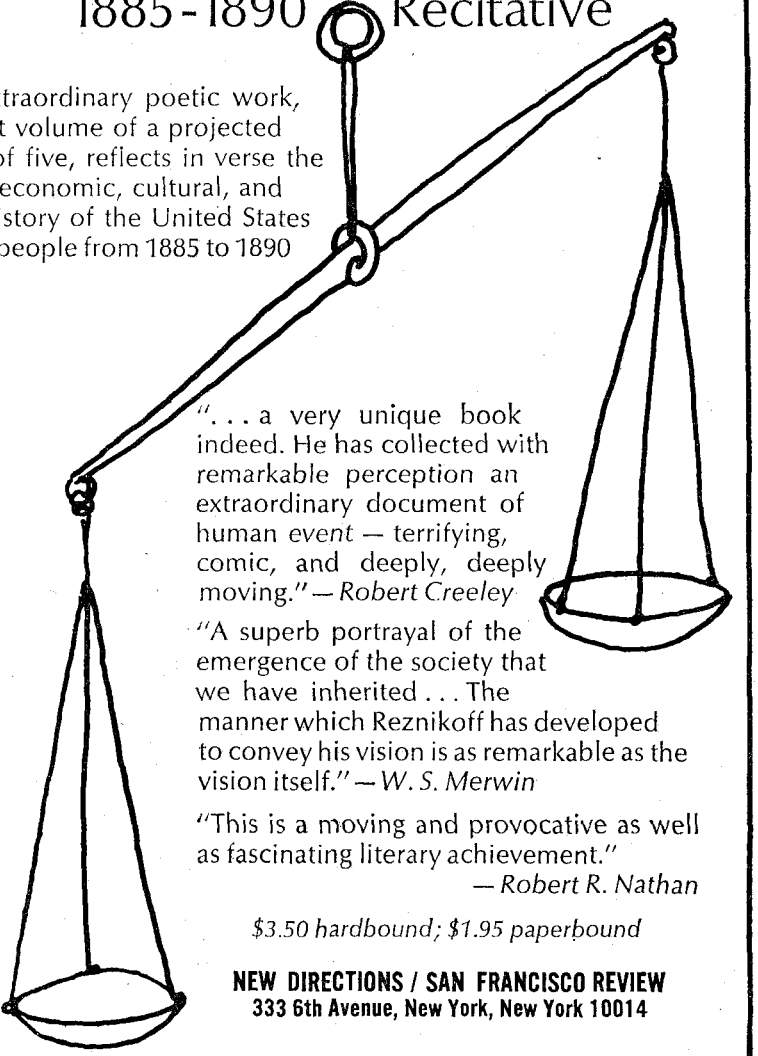

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garbed itself in "selfless, disinterested patriotism"; it appealed "to the peculiar purity of this society"; it was merely a translation "into technicalities of Almighty Wisdom." Once the Christian character of American law was secured, jurists could join the clergy in saluting the sublime, and law could set about to save the nation—and its imperial course.

What the law had done in actuality was to define its domain as primarily the property relations within society, and to free those relations from pietistic restrictions (this was the significance of the Girard Will case). But in order to do this it had to confirm publicly the existence of the "other world" as the domain of the clerical brethren. Thus it absolved itself of the suspicion of atheism, and by uttering the incantations of American sublimity, of the charge of cosmopolitanism. Underlying tensions were thereby swept out of sight, and the life of the mind seemed to run a course as smooth as ever.

The Civil War marked the collapse of this mighty effort to affirm unity and preserve rule of law. It was a sign of the American mind's inability to fulfill its own rhetorical directives. Inner contradictions had rendered the law helpless to prevent what it had fervently tried to prevent: an emotional onslaught, and violent warfare, against the sanctity of compact and orderly process. The law was betrayed, on one hand, by its commitment to the proposition that its purpose "was not to enforce freedom but to protect property from legislative, popular, or fanatical invasion." The Dred Scott decision represented the self-defeating extremes of negativism. It was also, in the eyes of some, "a vulgarization of discourse," a surrender to the blindness and vapidity of the rhetoric of the sublime.

What Miller makes unmistakably clear is that the mainstream of mental life in America, the currently vaunted consensus, can be a rather deadly influence. The truly colossal efforts to forge a cultural identity and to define the adjective "American"—a necessary task—very nearly defined away the possibility of culture itself as a vehicle of self-realization. The labors of figures like Emerson and Melville to create personal visions appear fully heroic in light of the limits placed upon thought in their culture. The kind of sheer existential being which Whitman recognized as the genuine historical opportunity of the New World—"One's-Self I sing, a simple separate person, / Yet utter the word Democratic, the word En-Masse" — has not yet found a place within the consensus. The contemporary relevance of Miller's research is obvious enough. The question whether a black man can be an American in all senses of the word is really one phase of a much larger question; can a man, *simply as a man*, be an American? It is true that our society will grant dissenters their legal rights, but does our cultural mind have a place for the individual, or the political party, which stands outside of the consensus?

Miller's findings leave us with a knowledge of how troubling the word "American" can be. The problems of identity which have plagued our culture are, in large part, the penalty of newness and experiment (can a culture be *declared* into being?). With our peculiar set of historical circumstances the problem was inescapable, and Miller is surely right in characterizing the Civil War as primarily a "majestic folk struggle," an expression of accumulated tensions. Miller re-creates the life of the mind before the war as a drama of life-and-death issues. Just off-stage is Lincoln, who will emerge as the frontiersman, the natural man, who has disciplined the heart by going to school to Blackstone. He will wage the war not as an evangelical crusade, but a crusade for law, for the sacred obligations of contracts, of property and of expanding nationalism. But did the war—was it intended to—advance the cause of genuine freedom? In its recovery from violence American society may have learned flexibility in advancing its economic and political aims, and adroitness in avoiding showdowns. But the lesson of the past two decades seems to be that the essential frame of reference persists: cautionary, nervous, suspicious of cosmopolitanism, and given to the sanction of the sublime. With the rhetoric of consensus dominating political life, the chief significance of the new styles of protest among young people may lie in their challenge to this inherited view of the world. Perry Miller's book helps enormously in understanding that inheritance, and in this sense is a major contribution to the life of the mind in our own day.

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Tidying Up the Unjust Kingdom

ADMINISTRATION OF A REVOLUTION: Executive Reform in Puerto Rico Under Governor Tugwell, 1941-1946. By Charles T. Goodsell. Harard University Press. 254 pp. $4.95.

Gordon K. Lewis

This book is another exercise in the growing literature of American liberal mythology with reference, this time, to its colonial derivatives in the Caribbean. Just as the Schlesinger volumes on the New Deal constructed the questionable thesis of a Republican "old order" shattered by a Rooseveltian "new order," so the Goodsell volume builds up the image of a bad colonial tradition in Puerto Rico ended by a Tugwellian New Deal, the administrative reforms of which in the 1940s laid the foundations for the social "revolution" that has—according to the current Popular Democratic credo, which the author implicitly embraces—provided the answer to colonialism and communism in the Pan Caribbean basin. It is a dull book, written dully; Professor Goodsell does not suffer from enlarged imagination. The inclusion of photographs in a purportedly scholastic treatise invites the reader to wonder to which particular audience the book is addressed; for if, as photographs suggest, it seeks out the middle-brow audience of magazine-reading America then one might suspect that the thing is done better by books like Ruth Gruber's *Puerto Rico: Land of Promise* or Thomas Aitken's *Poet in the Fortress*, both composed in the style of breathless enthusiasm appropriate to adoring liberal authors in the presence of Puerto Rican *pitiyanqui* achievement.

The book begs all the seminal questions. It naturally avoids the arrogance of Governor Tugwell's own autobiographical account of the period. But it commits the same mistake of assuming that a well-intentioned colonial chief executive could undo the basic evils of colonialism, still present in the contemporary Puerto Rican scene. It catalogues what was the record of the best, beyond doubt, of Presidential appointments to the old Spanish Palace in San Juan. But it fails to apprehend the massive contradiction involved in seeking to impose an administrative democracy upon a colonial system. For, throughout, Governor Tugwell thought in terms of a beneficent American leadership. It was, true, enlightened. But it was still only enlightened colonialism. It sought less to abolish colonialism than merely to change the colonial climate. The Governor, in sum, was a liberal seeking to work an illiberal system. He does not seem to have realized, any more than his Puerto Rican successors, that—to paraphrase the remark of the Algerian delegate in the General Assembly 1952 debate on the Algerian War—it is not the status of Puerto Rico that is at stake but the status of the United States in Puerto Rico. Because Professor Goodsell does not fully admit this he manages to write a book on the Tugwellian administrative reforms, admittedly real and important, as if it were the story of instituting the city manager scheme in Cleveland or reforming the township system in Massachusetts.

Not only this. The book reiterates, albeit with some academic caution, the myth of Governor Tugwell, the skilled planner, building up his team of young Puerto Rican administrators against the pressures of the Puerto Rican politicians. Much of the history of American municipal reform has been, in fact, such a conflict between the administrative reformers and the machine "bosses." But the neat political-administrative dichotomy does not fit the Puerto Rican picture. For the public servant in the American-type democracy cannot escape the pressures, or resist being himself somehow shaped by them, of the brutalizing political arena, as the recently published Lilienthal diaries amply demonstrate; and in Puerto Rico the pressures were magnified tenfold by the colonial context. The Governor was an alien executive responsible only to the absentee Presidential will. He became, much more than his Boswells are willing to admit, a skilled manipulator in the political game. There was the minor scandal of his attempt to retain his essentially political post of university chancellor along with his new gubernatorial appointment, and his failure to comprehend that the local storm thereby set loose was something more than the injured *dignidad* of disappointed creole candidates for the university post; and even Professor Goodsell, in his inadequate description of the affair, permits himself a murmur of disapproval. Nor was the Governor always the magnanimous liberal of the myth built around him. His 1943 proposals for colonial reform included the establishment of a Presidentially appointed commissioner general who would presumably be able to curb the powers of a local governor who would then be popularly elected. Yet at the end of his tenure he could go no further than an endorsement of the new postwar British Colonial Office policies which, in the form of the Colonial Development and Welfare scheme, were simply an elaborate social welfarism, leaving untouched the basic economic structure of the colonial empire. In fact, this policy was severely criticized at that time in Professor Simey's *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies* (which, incidentally, Professor Goodsell seems not to have heard of, despite his book's claim to be a study in comparative public administration). The only extenuating excuse for the Governor, here, is that his position

Gordon K. Lewis is professor of political science at the University of Puerto Rico and the author of Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean *(Monthly Review Press).*

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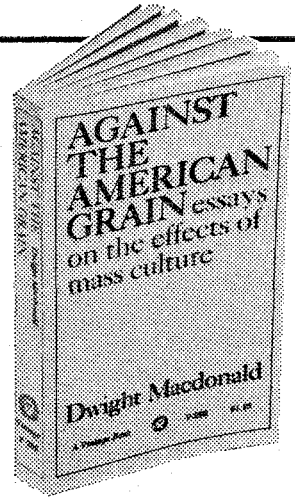

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was no more radical than the ideology of postwar American liberalism in general, as evident in the books written at the time by Paul Blanshard and Annette Baker Fox. American liberals, any more than British Socialists, have not found it easy to divest themselves of a certain inverted cultural chauvinism when drawing up nostrums for the dependent colonial peoples.

The picture of the American planner locked in combat with the Puerto Rican political set is, in fact, fantastically awry. The Governor saw the whole scene in terms of yet another Rooseveltian drama in which he played the role of the President and Muñoz, as it were, that of Sam Rayburn, without ever fully appreciating that the genius of Muñoz made such an allocation of role playing utterly unrealistic. For if Tugwell was not just the high-minded administrator neither was Muñoz just the political leader lending his consent to the program. He was, much more, the insular patriot, the romantic poet-politician (so completely unknown in American politics), Burke's philosopher in action. The Governor failed to read him properly because Tugwellian Fabianism was, in its ideological roots, profoundly anti-political. It dreamed, as did the Webbs in the English scene, of a collectivist commonwealth run by an administrative oligarchy. But the "great game of politics" has always rebelled against the dominion of the meritocracy. This was particularly so in Puerto Rico, where colonialism strengthened the animus; since the colonial professional classes, denied full self-expression in other fields, invested all of their energy in politics.

It would be difficult, indeed, to imagine a more inhospitable venue for the Fabian managerial revolution than a colonial society. The Fabian virtues, in a colonial system, become imperialist vices. The British-trained civil servant—and Professor Goodsell notes the influence of the type upon the Tugwell reformers—becomes the colonial autocrat. As Chesterton remarked of the Fabians, they wanted to change capitalism not because it was an unjust kingdom but because it was an untidy room. The democratic spirit could resist that spirit of administrative paternalism in London and Washington. But, fatally weakened in a colonial society, it was relatively powerless to prevent Governor Tugwell from using Puerto Rico as an experimental laboratory for ideas he could not implement elsewhere. If, then, his administrative reforms were brilliantly successful it was because, in large part, Puerto Rico was a colonial dependency subservient to American policies and not, as Professor Goodsell suggests, because of its tiny geographical size or the absence of Latin militarism. It is perhaps pardonable that Governor Tugwell did not see his Puerto Rican Odyssey in those terms and that, like Clive in India, he was surprised by his own moderation. But it is less excusable that an academic observer should fail so to see it.

Chilean Crazy Quilt

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM IN CHILE. By Ernst Halperin. The M.I.T. Press. 267 pp. $7.50.

Donald W. Bray

One wouldn't ordinarily expect much of a book about communism by an ex-Communist writing for an academic center reputed to be financially assisted by the CIA. (Ernst Halperin is a research associate in Communist affairs at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for International Studies. For the center's CIA association, see David Wise and Thomas B. Ross: *The Invisible Government*, p. 243.) It is an unexpected pleasure, therefore, to discover that Halperin's *Nationalism and Communism in Chile* opens up for the English reading public some previously obscured vistas.

These vistas do not relate to nationalism: the book contains nothing new on that subject. Nor does it tell us anything about the structure of the Chilean Communist party. What it does offer is an account of the ideology and tactics of the Communist and other major parties in Chile.

Especial import inheres in this account because Chile is the only Latin American country with a deep-going parliamentary tradition and the only one, except Cuba, where the Communist party has a genuine social base.

Donald W. Bray is associate professor of government at California State College at Los Angeles. He is a specialist in Latin American affairs.

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A Valentine's Day Sketch of Negro Slaves, Jews in Concentration Camps, and Unhappy Lovers

The survivors have something in common, —
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the smell of urine and feces in their nostrils,
the useless are directed by a finger
to the right, the useful to the left,
—examined naked. They cannot worship
their own Gods or the Gods of their masters,
"the old timers" become like children, they steal,
inform, giggle; learn to seem not there,
not to do anything extraordinary
like whistling or talking. They grow proud
of how smartly they stand at attention;
finally they come to believe the rules
set down from above are desirable.
You who are free,
relax, your stomachs will soon settle.
Isn't it May? Aren't you happy as larks?

Stanley Moss

It is also the country where a high-riding, honest and energetic reform party, the Christian Democrats, swept into power via the ballot box last September after a tightly contested electoral campaign against a Socialist-Communist-supported Marxist candidate. If "Western democracy" should prove to be an appropriate system for modernizing any major Latin American country, chances are that country would be Chile.

Halperin is one of the few Latin Americanists astute and honest enough to concede that the area's Russian-oriented Communist parties are not very revolutionary. These Communist conservatives of the Left have made, according to Halperin, only one major attempt to seize power (Brazil, 1935). Their present passion is the "peaceful road" whose principal advocate is Chilean party leader Luis Corvalán. Ideologically more interesting than the staid and relatively consistent Chilean Communist party is the Socialist party. It is almost amusing, the way in which the Socialists, whose doctrine is a crazy quilt, have been able to play the role of decision maker for the Communist-Socialist coalition (FRAP) in recent years. The Socialists have won Communist support for their Presidential candidate in the last two elections and have thus far enjoyed their cooperation in a policy of opposition to the Christian Democratic government, although Chilean Communist tradition and doctrine suggest that the Communists should be in a working alliance with the Christian Democrats. The Communists are uneasy to be in a coalition with Socialists who occasionally advocate revolution.

Halperin, himself of a European background, cautions against any attempt to equate the Chilean Socialists with their European counterparts. Such comparison would leave the analyst at a loss to explain why the Chilean Socialists can switch unperturbably from Marxism to Peronism to Titoism to Fidelism to Maoism, etc. Socialist flirtation with Peronism, so unthinkable in Europe, does not seem incredible in Chile where fascistic movements have been launched against the oligarchy rather than against Bolshevism.

The curious thing is that Halperin, aware as he is of the history of ideological honky-tonking of the Socialists, should take their present stance so seriously. He gives the impression that the current revolutionary line of Socialist party President Raul Ampuero will give rise to a genuinely revolutionary movement. The Socialist leaders have always been verbally committed to radical goals, but in practice remain *homo Chilensis*. In Chile a political guerrilla feels as silly as one would in Michigan; a Socialist party leader really prepared to undertake revolution is most unlikely.

What of the Christian Democrats who have come to power prepared to undertake a peaceful revolution? While Halperin does not venture to predict what their effectiveness is to be, he does shed some light on their rise. Jesuit priests are largely credited with having spawned the movement in the mid-1930s; not for having led it, but for having created the intellectual climate out of which it emerged. That the Christian Democrats were incubated so recently is presented as a political advantage for the reason that they did not inherit the European Socialist tradition which makes the working class the pivot of progress. The trade union movement has not been a road to power in Latin America, and the Christian Democrats would probably have been hampered in their rapid political ascent had they been burdened by what C. Wright Mills called a "labor metaphysic." They would also enjoy less voter support had they come to look with favor upon capitalism as have many of the Christian Democrats of Europe. The Chilean Christian Democrats continue to regard capitalism as an evil to be gradually replaced by a system they call "communitarianism." In the Communitarian society workers will share in management decisions and a sharp distinction between capital and labor will be erased. In fact, capital and labor are foreseen as becoming "united in the same hands." This is the Christian Democrats' answer to the class struggle of the Marxists. It will be fascinating to observe the Christian Democrats as they take on the monopolized, power-concentrated, backward capitalistic structure over which they now hold political sway.

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Twin Swords & Cold Steel

YANKEES AND SAMURAI: America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan. By Foster Rhea Dulles. Harper & Row. 275 pp. $6.50.

Kenneth Lamott

Three or four years before the attack on Pearl Harbor I was invited, together with several of my classmates at the American high school in Tokyo, to attend the Black Ships Festival at Shimoda, commemorating the successful assault on Japan by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry. (Why the festival was held at Shimoda, the seaport where Townsend Harris, the first American consul, lived, rather than at Kurihama, where Perry actually landed, is a puzzle I can no longer answer.) We were taken south from Tokyo on a fast coastwise passenger ship, fed breakfast at an inn overlooking a lovely harbor, and then obliged to sit through a day-long ceremony in the hot sun, listening to a succession of worthies remind us of the historic friendship of the United States and Japan. Although we were treated with much kindness and given many gifts, it was a perfectly dreadful day.

I was reminded of this experience while reading Foster Rhea Dulles' account of the first century of contact between the United States and Japan. Mr. Dulles is a retired professor of history at Ohio State, but his rhetoric is undistinguishable from the rhetoric of the Japanese speakers at the Black Ships Festival. "For all their mutual doubts on coming together under such unusual circumstances, Americans and Japanese discovered in 1854 a basis of enduring friendship," he writes, and again, ". . . the bonds established between Americans and Japanese in the latter half of the nineteenth century have helped to point the way, after the tragic interlude of war, to a revival of the two nations' historic friendship." I nod, I doze, and I feel the hot sun of Shimoda on my face again.

Mr. Dulles has hold of a splendid subject for a writer of popular history, and even his dogged good will cannot entirely spoil its interest. For one thing, it is a story that is so hard to excel in picturesqueness that I wonder why it has not been committed to the musical stage. A scene: Terrible-tempered "Old Matt" Perry, in full dress of blue and gold, wearing every decoration he owns and pretending to be an admiral, is seen as he goes ashore to present President Fillmore's letter to the Japanese commissioners. He is accompanied by 500 marines and sailors, two huge Negroes and a band. The route to the flag-decorated pavilion where the commissioners wait is lined by thousands of Japanese soldiers in brilliant uniforms and lacquered helmets, armed with pikes and matchlocks. The band then breaks into *The Star-Spangled Banner.*

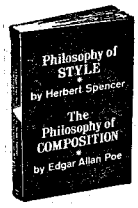
Another scene: A Japanese nobleman in full regalia, silk skirts flying, clings for his life to the side of the quarter-scale steam locomotive that whirls around the circular track the American seamen have set up ashore. A later scene: At a ball in New York, the same Japanese, his disapproval of the American women's bare shoulders and bosoms overcome by a combination of concupiscence and champagne, is taught how to waltz. With one society lady after another, he spins around and around the ballroom until the break of day.

The trouble with all this—and the trouble with Mr. Dulles' book—can be summed up by turning to one of his illustrations, a reproduction of a group photograph taken by Matthew Brady of the first Japanese Treaty Commission of 1860 and some of their American hosts. The top-knotted Japanese, wearing flowing *haori* and *hakama* and carrying the samurai's twin swords, are to a man serious, solemn. Among the Americans, two Navy officers stand out: head and shoulders taller than the Japanese, they are smiling, full of benevolence toward these queer little men they have been detailed to entertain. And there it is, the Great Cliché that has for so long obscured the true picture of our joint history with Japan, the cliché of the American as the benevolent, disinterested teacher, and the Japanese as the apt, though somewhat ungrateful, pupil. Mr. Dulles did not, of course, invent the cliché, but as a historian he has done remarkably little toward dispelling it.

Whether he is describing Perry's negotiations, or the first official Japanese visit to the United States, or the invasion of Japan by American officials, businessmen, teachers and missionaries, or the experiences of the first Japanese immigrants to this country, Mr. Dulles manages to rub off almost all the interesting rough edges and reduce his story to the uncritical tone of an article about the Peace Corps in *National Geographic.* It would have been truer to have written that, from the beginning, our relations with Japan have been characterized, on both sides, by distrust, arrogance and force, and that Perry's landing was less a scene from a musical comedy than, as Arthur Walworth pointed out in 1946 in *Black Ships Off Japan,* a well-organized amphibious operation whose spirit was crystallized in an officer's recollection that "there was not a Yankee who did not feel that with one broadside, one war whoop, and a rush upon them with cold steel, we could scatter as many as could stand before us."

If this is a matter of some importance, it is not merely because Mr. Dulles has contributed one more mediocre book to perpetuating the myth. Instead, it seems to me, our confrontation with Japan is a paradigm of our confrontation with other Far Eastern countries, and it is not entirely fanciful to suggest that if we are not quite sure what we are doing in Vietnam today, one reason is that we still don't know exactly what we were doing in Japan a hundred years ago.

Kenneth Lamott is a novelist and has been an editor of Contact *magazine.*



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REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 439)

regulators employed in Western communities: profit, rate of interest for capital, rent for land, adequate depreciation rates, rational price fixing, credits, economic self-interest. Today's Soviet leaders never tire of emphasizing the necessity for using these same economic regulators, of denouncing the undue attention paid to quantity at the expense of other planning indices, and of insisting that economic laws must take the place of administrative fiat in the conduct of industry. The new attitude also marks the passing of the "new Soviet man," who used to be prominently featured as the builder of the coming Communist society. The official theory was that, with the disappearance of the "exploiting classes," this paragon would labor as devotedly for the interests of the state as he would for his own interests. The image has had to be replaced by the familiar figure of "economic man" who makes no bones about the fact that he will give of his best only if assured of adequate rewards.

This extraordinary about-face in Russian economic thinking and behavior has been hailed in the foreign press as a "return to capitalism." Such an interpretation goes too far, in view of the close controls within which Soviet industrialists must still work. The freedoms conferred by the charter have to be exercised within a national system of intensified centralization. When Mr. Khrushchev dissolved the centralized branch ministries in 1957, he replaced them by more than 100 regional economic councils (cut to less than fifty in 1962), which administered industry on a territorial basis. In 1965, his successors reversed the process, dissolving the councils and setting up twenty-eight centralized ministries and committees, each to be responsible for every aspect of operation in a given branch of industry. Mr. Kosygin was quick to insist that the new ministries would operate under the conditions of greatly increased local autonomy written into the charter, that they would have duties toward, as well as rights over, the subordinate enterprises. Nevertheless, the new administrative structure is centralized and concentrated.

In addition, planning controls lay down the industrialist's basic tasks. He receives precise instructions on the amount of production, the assortment of products, the total profit and rate of profitability, what payments are to be made to the state budget and what allocations received from it, the quantity of new capacity to be installed in the planned period.

For all that, the rules of the game are changed and we may expect that the results will also be different. Before turning to the probable outcome, however, a little should be said of agriculture and distribution, sectors of the economy where corresponding changes are being installed.

During the decades of Stalinist concentration on industry, particularly the heavy branches, the interests of agriculture were grossly neglected. Stalin secured power over agricultural production by forcing the peasants to join collective farms in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. He then used that power to extract everything he could from the land, giving little or nothing in return, and devoted the proceeds to his industrial plans. The destruction of incentive, the running down of the mechanics of production, the continuing low level of productivity have forced his successors to an impressive change of policy. The new policy was apparent by 1953, when Khrushchev began to channel more capital investments, more machinery, more fertilizers into agriculture, raised farm prices and lowered the cost of fuel, consumer goods and other necessities sold to the farmers. One of his last acts was to bring rural workers within the scope of a national insurance scheme.

In his new deal for agriculture, announced in March, 1965, Brezhnev went even further. All of Khrushchev's methods were continued and intensified. Brezhnev not only increased prices for grain bought by the state and lowered the quantities the farmers were required to deliver; he also stabilized these amounts for a period of six years, so that producers could plan ahead with confidence. In further measures he transferred to government account the burden of land improvement, and canceled outright various forms of farm indebtedness to the state bank and the government. Unlike Khrushchev, the new rulers have gone out of their way to encourage the working of small private plots. Instead of being denounced as a "speculator," the farmer is to be helped to increase production on his plot and to sell it on the open market at the best price he can get.

In August, 1965, the government showed further awareness of the need to stimulate individual energy and initiative among the mass of the farmers. The chief agricultural expert of a state farm in Siberia was allowed to publicize his views that the stimulation could be achieved only by transferring legal ownership of the land from the farm as a whole to the much smaller *zveno* or "link," comprising some four to six peasant families, who actually worked the land. So far there has been no follow-up to this audacious proposal, which would strike at the roots of the collective system. Meanwhile the stagnation in agricultural production remains the basic problem for Russia's rulers, who have twice had to make incursions into the world wheat market (in 1963 and again in 1965) in order to feed the growing population.

Consumer pressures—which are

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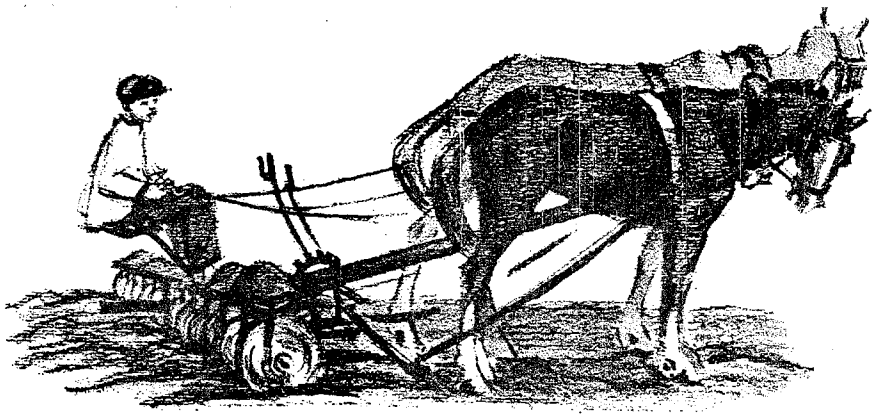
most directly and strongly felt in the distribution sector—pose problems as intractable as those in industry and agriculture. In Stalinist days, when demand was rigorously held down, the producer of consumer goods had few problems. He turned out the goods allotted to him — clothing, footwear, textiles, household appliances—and worried very little about style, quality, durability or appearance. Practically all goods were scarce and stocks were cleared out as soon as they reached the shops. Now, the very success of industrialization is creating difficulties. There are far larger stocks in the shops, and with the development of the chemical industry and the growing output of synthetics, new attractive goods appear every day. The people who buy have also changed. Their demands are far more diverse; they are far more "choosy." They skim off the most fashionable and best quality items, and leave the rest to pile up in shops and warehouses, involving the state in alarming monetary losses.

This unsatisfactory situation is being met by loosening controls, establishing direct contacts between producers and distributors, and studying the wishes of consumers. The first modest indications of "consumer sovereignty" came in 1962, when the manager of a successful footwear factory in Lvov conceived the idea of increasing efficiency by something that resembled a capitalist "take-over bid." His efficient plant became the administrative and technical headquarters of a group in which a number of footwear concerns that had been doing less well became specialized branches. The enlarged organization, known as a "Soviet firm," was able to set up services which had not existed before, such as devising new styles and studying the tastes of consumers through the firm's own retail outlets. The movement achieved great success and spread rapidly all over the country, to include factories turning out clothing, cardboard and paper, cement, household crockery, furs, medical equipment, etc.

More recently, prominence has been given to the idea of establishing direct links between production and trade. Two garment factories, Mayak (Lighthouse) in Gorky, and Bolshevichka in Moscow, were freed from planning controls and allowed to operate on the basis of only two criteria — their ability to run at a profit and to fulfill satisfactorily orders received from bodies marketing their products. Here again the success was spectacular, and the system is being quickly extended to other clothing factories.



In Soviet Husbandry

But the Russians are finding that there is much more to distribution than conferring new freedoms on producers and sellers. The long years of neglect have left the light industries and the state trading network without the physical means to do a good job. There is a serious shortage of equipment to handle new materials, such as those containing a proportion of synthetics. The forthright woman director of Mayak recently described the condition of her trust in this respect as "pathetic." There is a chronic shortage of packaging materials—paper, cardboard, boxes, aluminum foil and the like. Warehouses are badly equipped, they lack storage space; there is not enough mechanized equipment to move, load and unload goods. Shops are still too few, and existing ones are often too small to serve their customers well. Mayak conducted a questionnaire in the summer of 1965 in its own retail store. On the day chosen some 1,400 customers came into the shop, only 250 of whom completed their purchases. Of the unsatisfied remainder, about half did not like the styles or colors available, the other half failed to find their sizes, or were frightened off by the prices. Plans were immediately set afoot to enlarge the capacity of the store at least five times, in order to stock a broader range and assortment of goods.

The absence of scientifically based market research has been deplored for years. Conferences of producers pass resolutions calling for an All-Union body, with information centers in every town and district, to supply them with the data they need to maneuver their output in accordance with fluctuations of demand. The drawing up of effective contracts between producers and sellers of consumer goods demands highly trained buyers and commercial directors with a wide knowledge of the kind of goods in demand, familiar with the costs of transporting, storing and selling the items they handle. Obviously people of this background do not now exist in sufficient numbers in the Soviet Union. An intensive program is needed to train them, and to improve the physical basis of the light industries and the trading network before the "revolution" in distribution can take effect.

In a country as large and diverse as Russia it is all too easy for government measures to fall into disuse. Only last year a new decree on agriculture was passed which did no more than reiterate the principles of a 1955 decree that had required central planners and administrative bodies to confine themselves to laying down general directives, and allow the farmers themselves to decide by what means their duties were to be fulfilled. Officials had continued to issue detailed instructions, and the new law imposed severe penalties in an effort to deter them.

There is plenty of evidence that the government's present aim of encouraging local autonomy within the framework of the state plan is being resisted by officials who are unwilling to relinquish the power they have held for many years, and to assume new duties and responsibili-

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ties. Russians are no exception to the rule that people adopt new mental attitudes toward their work with the greatest reluctance. Khrushchev frequently criticized officials who were holding up progress because they were "imprisoned by the old traditions and habits," and his successors are having to make the same reproaches.

Having dismantled Stalin's "command" economy and abandoned Marxist economic doctrine in favor of an economy based essentially on profitability, the government is proceeding on cautious, experimental lines. The present approach is totally unlike the "campaign" method of earlier years, when the nation's energies were forcibly concentrated on one main objective after another, in the conviction that all problems must yield to this energetic treatment.

One important issue on which the government's changed attitude of caution and compromise is strongly marked is the setting of prices. Academician Nemchinov had proposed to substitute for the existing centralized method a "three-tier" system such as has already been adopted in Czechoslovakia. The state itself would fix prices for only a small number of important goods. It would next settle a range within which prices could be varied by local enterprises for all except the basic major items. Enterprises could themselves price mass-production goods as long as they adhered to approved methods of calculation. But although the Soviet Government now fully accepts the principle that prices must reflect truthfully the labor, material and other costs required to produce the commodities to which they are attached, Kosygin held out no prospect of rapid progress toward local autonomy. A state committee has been set up to consider the whole matter, and action will not become apparent before 1967 or 1968. Unless the industrialist is allowed to charge prices that cover his costs and insure the profits on which he relies for his new mode of working, his greater operative freedom will necessarily be limited for lack of funds.

This does not obscure the fact that, even if the government wanted to hold back reform, harsh economic realities would prevent it from doing so. The warning is clear in the trends of recent years—the slowing down of the rate of growth of industrial production and of national income, the dangerous stagnation in agricultural output, the losses inflicted by consumer resistance to poor-quality goods. None of these can be counteracted without a continuance of the new methods.

Irreversible change is no less clear in the people who carry out the government's plans. Industrialization has created an entirely new class in Russia — technicians, engineers, scientists, economists, specialists in automation and cybernetics. There are more than 2 million of them working in industry alone, and they are essential to the running of an economy that is vastly larger and more complex than it was before the war. They demand a climate of opinion in which they can freely exercise their skills, and refuse to be dominated by methods and dogma that are at variance with the facts of economic life. Nothing has been more striking throughout the conferences and debates on the reforms than the new note of boldness and confidence in the speeches of the practical men and women who are faced with the day-to-day problems of getting things done.

Progress in the neglected sectors of agriculture and distribution is likely to be slower than in industry, mainly because of the difficulty of channeling funds into these spheres of operation with sufficient speed and in sufficient quantities to make up for past deficiencies. Russia's resources are not unlimited, and the weight of defense expenditure, including the cost of its technically brilliant achievements in space, reduces the area within which those in charge of economic policy are able to maneuver. But the penalties for failure have political as well as economic implications. From the inception of the revolution, Russia has been proclaiming that socialism is able to provide a higher standard of living for the population than capitalism can hope to do. So far practice has lagged notably behind theory. Promises of a better life for its much-deprived citizens cannot be indefinitely postponed without unfortunate repercussions both within and outside Russia's borders.

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which they previously worked, and a degree of freedom which probably feels to them as great as that enjoyed by their opposite numbers in capitalist societies. What impact this freedom will have on industrial efficiency remains to be seen, but it is bound to be considerable. There is no mention of competition as an economic regulator: it is believed, presumably, that the new material and moral incentives will stimulate Soviet economy as competition stimulates capitalist economies. For consumers in general, the reforms hold out the prospect of a slow but steady movement toward a more comfortable life which, again against the background of their own experience, must eventually act as a powerful incentive to greater efficiency.

The difficulties and limitations with which Russia's economic reforms are beset will make for uneven progress, but will do nothing to turn back the tide. Insofar as the changes infuse rationality into the working of the economy, and enthrone reason in place of doctrine, they may be expected to remove many barriers to understanding between East and West. At the same time they will sharpen the economic rivalry between the two systems by striking off many of the shackles that have prevented Russia's citizens from contributing their full share to the fulfillment of national aspirations.

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LETTERS

(Continued from inside front cover)

ready touched upon during the hearings held last summer and at other times? . . .

Secondly, Wilhelm suggests that Johnson wants to appear to be a great economizer. . . . He seems to believe that the $4 billion annual pay increase, proposed by McNamara, would offset this appearance. Would it? If we accept McNamara's $4 billion figure . . . Johnson can promise a $6 billion tax cut and do away with the draft for $4 billion. . . . Wilhelm's theories, however, become more acceptable when he personally estimates the cost at something over $9 billion.

Tom Lyons, Bard College

McLean, Va.

Dear Sirs: Mr. Wilhelm contends that the "armed forces are meeting the bulk of their manpower needs through voluntary enlistments." This is true, but what is not disclosed is that the draft law itself acts as a goad or spur to enlistments. Without a draft law on the books it is highly problematical whether any of the services could come close to meeting manpower needs. . . .

Even more important, should the services fail to meet manpower needs, the simplest and easiest solution would be to substitute a variety of tactical nuclear weapons in lieu of missing companies, battalions and brigades. This in turn would limit flexibility of response and practically guarantee any encounter from becoming nuclear and quickly getting out of hand.

Mr. Wilhelm makes a basic assumption that the draft per se is bad. This is a debatable point. As a former regular officer who has commanded many draftees, I've observed many thousands of more or less dead-end kids end up two years of military life not only in far better physical shape than at induction but as far more useful and productive citizens to the nation. . . .

H. A. Crosby
Colonel, U.S.A., Ret.

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